ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	DIFFERENT PATHWAYS INTO TEACHING IN RURAL PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS: MULTIPLE CASE STUDIES OF FEMALE AND MALE TEACHERS IN MOUNTAIN SOCIETIES OF NORTHERN PAKISTAN.
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The purpose of this qualitative, multiple case study is to explore the different pathways into teaching in rural primary and middle schools. As a conceptual framework, the continuum of teacher learning and occupational choice theory were used to study teacher preparation and recruitment. Research participants included twelve teachers (seven male and five female) from four different types of schools. Each participant (teacher) was a case and the schools were mainly work sites where teachers were interviewed. The schools selected for data collection were located in a remote mountain village of Pakistan's Gilgit-Baltistan province, where 86 percent of the total population live in rural areas.

The findings of this study problematize teacher policy and practice. Entry into the teaching profession is generally assumed to be a simplistic process. However, this

study yielded new insights and revealed that the real-life experiences of teachers varied and were more complex, with multiple factors influencing teachers' entry into teaching. Wide disparities were found between and among male and female teachers' working conditions and pay, and female teachers were particularly disadvantaged. More importantly, the findings in this study provide justification for the government to continue recruiting more female teachers until at least an equal proportion of government permanent jobs are held by women in rural schools of Pakistan.

The study confirmed teachers learning to teach in different stages. The assumption of linearity, or that teachers not teaching before preservice, was questionable, as the findings indicated that nearly all the participants acquired at least one preservice teacher education certificate while they were already serving as a teacher. Teachers' perceptions on impact and influence of preservice and inservice training presented mixed findings.

This study expands the scope of existing research on teachers' pathways into teaching by adding an in-depth examination of rural teachers' perceptions and experiences. Findings of this study will be useful for government, teacher associations/unions, donors and civil society organizations engaged in teacher policy, preparation and recruitment in Pakistan and in other developing countries. Future research is needed to explore the institutional perspectives on teacher preparation and recruitment. Also, more in-depth research is needed to further unravel barriers for female teachers and explore ways to remove those barriers for recruiting more female teachers in rural government schools.

DIFFERENT PATHWAYS INTO TEACHING IN RURAL PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS: MULTIPLE CASE STUDIES OF FEMALE AND MALE TEACHERS IN MOUNTAIN SOCIETIES OF NORTHERN PAKISTAN

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Dedication

To my father, Gulbahar Shah, and my mother, Mah Darukhshan Shah, who have been inspiration for me and instrumental in my success. They taught me value of education, hard work and above all, being content in daily life.

To my wife Sajida Baig, for her encouragement and strong belief that I could finish writing my dissertation. Without my wife's extraordinary support, patience, time, and fantastic cooking, this dissertation would not have been possible.

To my son Ezaan Ali Shah and my daughter Aiza Salene Shah.

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Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my extended family members and friends who supported me during my PhD study.

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List of Abbreviations

BECS	Basic Education Community Schools
BPS	Basic Pay Scale
DDE	Deputy Director Education
DoE	Department of Education
GBPS	Government Boys Primary School
GB	Gilgit-Baltistan
GGMS	Government Middle School for Girls
GoP	Government of Pakistan
MoE	Ministry of Education
NEF	National Education Foundation
NER	Net Enrollment Ratio
PDCN	Professional Development Centre North, Gilgit Pakistan
PMS	Private Middle School
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
Rs.	Pakistani Currency Rupee
AKU	Aga Khan University
US$	US Dollar

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation begins with the background and problem statement followed by the research questions in the first chapter. The second chapter presents a review of the literature on concepts, theories, empirical studies and key issues in teacher education and teacher career decision making. The third chapter describes the country context of Pakistan, where the research sites are located. It also reviews literature on educational development with a focus on teacher policy and teacher education programs in Pakistan. The fourth chapter explains the research methodology. Context of local community and selected schools is described in chapter five, followed by findings and analysis of individual cases in chapter six, seven and eight. The last chapter presents cross-case analysis, implications and conclusions, including implications for policy and practice.

Background and Problem Statement

In the last few decades, there has been an expansion in access to schooling all over the world. However, this does not necessarily mean that all children have equitable access to quality education and holistic growth. Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the international community has reaffirmed free education as a fundamental human right in various international treaties and conventions, such as UNECO Convention against Discrimination in Education 1960, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966 and the Convention on the Rights of Child 1989, among others.

The right to education is essential and it enables the exercise of liberties and other rights such as the right to information, health, and work and the right to

participate in cultural life (Tomasevski, 2003; Friboulet, 2006). Nevertheless, even seven decades after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) was adopted, millions of children are denied their fundamental right to education, especially in poor countries. About 258 million children and youth are out of school, according to the latest data from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) (2018). The total number includes 59 million children of primary school age, 61 million of lower secondary school age, and 138 million of upper secondary school age (UIS, 2018). More girls are out-of-school and wide inequalities exist based on region (geographical and rural/urban), race, gender and socioeconomic status (UNESCO, 2017). The out-of-school children are denied their fundamental right to education and those children who are in school are denied their rights in education if education is not "free," of "good quality," "inclusive" and in a "safe environment" (Tomasevski, 2003; UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007).

Global Learning Crisis

In 2017, UIS released new data on what some have labeled a "global learning crisis" (World Bank, 2018), and the situation is not encouraging at all. Globally, learning outcomes, even of those attending school, are shockingly low, with more than 617 million children and adolescents not achieving minimum proficiency levels in reading and mathematics (UIS, 2017). The 617 million includes 387 million children at primarily school level and 230 million adolescents at lower secondary school level. Globally, 6 out of 10 children and adolescents are not learning a minimum in reading and mathematics. Moreover, regional disparities and other dimensions of learning inequalities are wide, with North America, Europe and

Oceania performing much better than Africa and Asia. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa more than 85% of children did not meet the minimum identified level of performance on standardized tests, and across the region 90% of girl students (compared to 85% boys) did not meet minimum proficiency levels in reading by the time they are of age to complete primary education. In contrast to Sub-Saharan Africa, boys of both primary and lower secondary school age in Central and South Asia face greater challenges to read than their female counterparts, as 84% of the boy students would not read proficiently compared to 77% of the girls (UIS, 2017). Given these disappointing statistics, the international community can and must take actions to address the issue of access as well as quality of education (at least as defined by students' performance on standardized tests). Nearly one-third of the 617 million children and youth are out of school and nearly two-thirds of the students are not learning while actually enrolled in school. Mundy & Montoya (2017, September 17) suggest that these new UIS estimates are a wake-up call for far greater and urgent investment in the quality of education, which will require commitment, resources and new approaches to improving the quality of education.

There are multiple factors within and outside school that affect quality of education. Some of these factors have been highlighted in *World Development Report* (WDR) 2018 by the World Bank (2018). This 2018 WDR, which is the first time a WDR has focused on education, highlights the urgency of learning crises both within and across countries. WDR 2018 points out that learning doesn't happen mainly because of the breakdown of four immediate factors: unskilled and unmotivated teachers; unprepared learners; school management and school inputs (World Bank,

2018). However, an important critique on this report, raised by Klees et al. (2019) is that the education financing gap is huge, estimated to be around $40 billion and the World Bank's report fails to highlight the critical issue of financing as an essential prerequisite for addressing global learning crises. These issues are a constant reminder that educational quality and equity are major challenges needing urgent action for all stakeholders.

The global community adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015 under the aegis of the United Nations. One of the SDGs, #4, calls for inclusive and equitable education for all by 2030. This ambitious goal, let alone the other 16 SDGs, cannot be accomplished without focusing on marginalized and disadvantaged children, including persons with disabilities, indigenous tribes, girls, refugee children and poor children in rural areas.

Equitable access to quality education remains a key challenge in the twenty-first century. Globally, there is a growing recognition that teachers matter in education policy and teachers' capabilities play an important role in achieving educational quality at the classroom level (OEDC, 2005; Schwille & Dembele, 2007; UNESCO, 2006). Education systems endeavor to provide sufficient number of "trained" or "qualified" teachers to all children, but the quality and shortage of teachers remain key issues. SDG 4 recognizes teachers' importance in education, by setting a separate target 4.C, which states that "by 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing states" (United Nations, 2015, p. 20).

It is important to note that SDG 4 was not the first attempt, historically, to address the issues related to educational quality and equity. In fact, the international community has been formulating global policies and frameworks demanding governments to take urgent actions. Some of these international policies and frameworks related to teaching and learning are discussed in next section.

Global Policies on Teaching and Learning

Global policy frameworks such as the Education for All (EFA) movement -- including EFA Jomtien 1990 and EFA Dakar 2000 -- had goals and targets to improve not only access to education but also educational quality and equity through recruiting, preparing, and supporting more qualified teachers, among other strategies. EFA did not achieve all targets even though there has been progress in some areas such as higher enrolments at primary level. Some of the reasons for non-accomplishment of EFA targets, as identified by UNESCO (2015a) were failure on part of both governments and donors to meet their commitments to finance education, and low priority given to the quality of education, secondary education and adult education. Building on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted in 2000 but not accomplished leading up to 2015, the United Nations adopted "the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" in 2015, as an agenda for a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity. The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) consist of 17 goals and 169 targets, seeking to realize the human rights of all (United Nations, 2015).

SDG 4 calls for universal provision of inclusive and equitable quality education and an ambitious aim of SDG 4 is to promote lifelong learning

opportunities for all. The target 4.1 of SDG 4 aims that by 2030, all children will complete primary and secondary education of sufficient quality to ensure that they have relevant and effective learning outcomes (United Nations, 2015). The SDG 4 targets for learning are ambitious and broad, as especially stated in target 4.7:

> By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation for cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development. (United Nations, 2015, p. 19)

These ambitious learning targets cannot be achieved without a key role of teachers and, therefore, the target 4.C of SDGs aims to substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers.

In order to achieve SDG 4, the UIS (2016) estimates that by 2030, the world needs almost 69 million new teachers, including 24.4 million primary school teachers and 44.4 million secondary school teachers (lower and upper secondary). The projections are based on 40 and 25 being appropriate student-teacher ratios, respectively, in primary and secondary schools, and take into consideration both the anticipated growth in numbers of students and the retirement or other reasons for teachers leaving the profession. Also, the "shortages of teachers can often occur in particular subject areas, qualifications or training profiles, grades or regions of a particular country" (UIS, 2016, p. 10).

The shortage, uneven deployment and inadequate professional development of teachers, especially in rural and remote schools, remain key issues in developing countries. In many countries, teachers do not prefer to work in schools in remote areas or schools with higher proportion of disadvantaged children and ethnic minorities (Schleicher, 2012). Remote schools, especially in developing countries, have difficulties to attract qualified teachers due to poor salaries, substandard working conditions, and lack of housing and transportation facilities, among other issues (Stromquist et al., 2017).

Encouraging and supporting local teachers can address some of the issues in rural schools, as strongly suggested by Winthrop & Kirk (2005). In a study on teachers in Ethiopia and Afghanistan, Winthrop & Kirk (2005) conclude: "the fact that they [teachers] belong to the community in which they are teaching can often be a more important qualification than a teaching certificate" (p. 19).

In Pakistan, educational access and quality indicators are shockingly low. Pakistan has the second highest number of out-of-school children in the world, as Nigeria has the highest. Recent data reveal that an estimated 22 million children and adolescents (age 5-16) are out-of-school in Pakistan (Government of Pakistan, 2017). Furthermore, in Pakistan, wide inequalities exist based on region, gender and socioeconomic status (UNESCO, 2017). The children living in rural areas of Pakistan are particularly disadvantaged, with 31% of the children in rural areas being out-of-school, compared to 15% in urban areas. Moreover, there are huge disparities due to socioeconomic status; for example, only 4% of the richest quintile of children are out-

of-school compared to 54% of the poorest quintile of children in Pakistan (UNESCO, 2017).

Teacher quality, shortage and training remain key issues in Pakistan's education system. At the national level, there are more female teachers than male teachers. The proportion of female teachers was 53% at the primary level, 72% at the middle level and 60% at the high/higher secondary level (Government of Pakistan, 2018, p. 9). However, the disaggregated data reveal wide inequalities between and within provinces. For example, in the northern province of Gilgit-Baltistan (GB), only 30% teachers in public primary schools were female in rural areas, compared to 75% female primary teachers in urban areas (Government of Pakistan, 2017). Increasing female teachers and promoting girls' education is critical for empowering women in rural Pakistan, as education has the potential to empower women if properly planned and focused on multiple dimensions of empowerment -- i.e., cognitive, psychological, political, and economic dimensions (Stromquist, 2012).

Educational quality is directly linked to teacher quality, as without qualified, motivated and supported teachers, student learning is unlikely to occur. The serious issues in teacher preparation, recruitment and deployment in the context of rural and remote areas of Pakistan need further research, policies and actions from both state and non-state actors. The rural and remote mountain areas of Northern Pakistan are home to some of the most marginalized children and their teachers' preparation and recruitment is an under-researched area. This research aims to fill this gap in research by conducting a multiple case study of teachers from schools -- both public and private -- in rural Pakistan.

Research Aim and Questions

While there is a growing literature on teacher education and teacher recruitment, especially in developed countries, the preparation and recruitment of teachers of marginalized children in rural and remote areas of developing countries is an understudied area of research, and there is need of in-depth, context-based studies. The purpose of this qualitative, multiple case study is to explore the different pathways into teaching in rural primary and middle schools in rural and remote mountain communities of Northern Pakistan. The study explores the in-depth perceptions and real-life experiences of male and female teachers in different types of schools in such communities.

My research questions are:

1. What are the pathways into teaching in different types of rural primary and middle schools (public, private and community schools) for female and male teachers?
2. How do female and male rural primary teachers perceive the relevance and impact of their apprenticeship of observation, preservice and inservice teacher education for their classroom practices?
    - In what types of teacher education or professional development experiences (both formal and informal) have these rural teachers participated?
    - Which experiences do they perceive as most influential (positively and negatively) in shaping their practice?

Limitations and Significance of Study

A limitation of qualitative case studies is generalizability, and the findings from my qualitative multiple case studies may not be generalizable, due to context and individual differences within the larger population of rural teachers in Pakistan. In addition, a sample size of twelve teachers, including 5 female teachers, may be representative at the village level but may not represent the region or all rural areas of Pakistan; therefore, findings should be carefully interpreted.

All interviews were conducted in the local language Shina -- a language with rich oral tradition but still without a standard orthography -- and I translated and transcribed at the same time. Although I am a native Shina speaker, my translation from Shina language into English might not have captured some responses accurately. I tried to reduce such inaccuracies by listening to the interview audiotapes at least twice and revising translated transcriptions accordingly.

This study brought teachers' voices into foreground and interpretation of teachers' perceptions and experiences generated new in-depth insights, contributing to the body of literature on teachers' pathway into teaching.

My sincere hope is that this qualitative research will make a significant addition to our existing knowledge of two interconnected fields of teacher preparation and teacher recruitment in an under-researched area of Pakistan. Moreover, my research will be useful for government, donors, teacher associations, and civil society organizations working on teacher policy, preparation and recruitments in Pakistan and other developing countries.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTS AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter begins with an overview of theoretical perspectives and approaches, which provide a backdrop and theoretical grounding for my study on teachers' different pathways into teaching. Then, I present the occupational choice theory and continuum of teacher learning as the conceptual framework for this study. Lastly, some concepts and on-going debates on teacher quality and emerging models of teacher education are discussed.

Theoretical Perspectives and Approaches

There are several theoretical perspectives which inform my research. My research is a qualitative multiple case study and the overall paradigm orienting the research is constructivism. In addition, I use various perspectives including critical pedagogy and human rights-based approach, as background concepts to understand the broader field of teaching and learning, as discussed below.

Constructivism

I use a constructivist approach to study perceptions of teachers and consider teacher learning as a socialization process and teachers as active learners during the socialization process. Teachers' perceptions about their pathways into teaching and sources of influence on their practice were studied using constructivism.

In the constructivist paradigm, teaching and learning is an active process in which teacher and learner construct knowledge together. The tradition of constructivism is influenced by cognitive psychology and learning is an active process. An important premise of constructivism as a learning theory is that learning is shaped within a social and cultural context. Within the constructivist paradigm,

Vygotsky's sociocultural theory emphasizes the role of social processes as a mechanism of learning and the social dimension of consciousness is considered primary (Vygotsky, 1978, cited in Palincsar, 1998). This perspective highlights the importance of language and symbols, while considering learning as a collective activity, an internalization process and a construction of knowledge of the world and culture (Palincsar, 1998).

Prawat (1992) argues that some traditional instructional beliefs (e.g. hierarchical learning and curriculum as a fixed agenda) of teachers' roles serve as impediments to the adoption of constructivist views. Prawat (1992) further contends that:

> In moving toward a constructivist approach to teaching, teachers will need to attend to their own conceptual change at least as much as they attend to this process in their students…they [teachers] must have the opportunity to participate in a learning community with other teachers. (p. 389).

Constructivists view learning happening through social interaction in a specific cultural context and that social interaction happens through language and symbols.

Critical Pedagogy

In Freire's view, traditional education pedagogy is teacher centered, top-down, prescriptive and rigid. Freire (1970) calls this traditional education approach as the "banking model of education," a model of education that involves teachers depositing knowledge and values into students' heads and, thus, likely reinforces existing social relations between oppressors and oppressed. Freire proposes a

"problem-posing pedagogy," a pedagogy that is learner-centered, process-oriented and bottom-up. In this critical pedagogy, the teacher is a learner and facilitator, the student is teaching and learning at the same time. Learners, through a collective "dialogue" and "reflections" with each other and with a teacher/facilitator, raise their critical consciousness and construct new realities of world, which Freire (1970) called "conscientization." A continuous cycle of dialogue, conscientization, reflection and action is known as "praxis" and it makes learning a continuous, transformative and emancipatory process (Freire, 1970; Mayo, 1999).

Another important contribution to the discourse on critical pedagogy is Antonio Gramsci's concepts of "hegemony," "counter-hegemony" and "organic intellectuals" (Mayo, 1999). For Gramsci, hegemony is a social condition dominated by a single class. Hegemony is not a static condition and it can be challenged by counter-hegemonic thought and action. Counter- hegemonic and revolutionary practices can evolve through critical learning and understanding of class or other dimensions of power. The role of working-class intellectuals -- known as "organic intellectuals" -- is important in Gramsci's philosophy. Organic intellectuals are key players in creating counter-hegemonic space and social change is possible through combination of critical learning and collective action (Mayo, 1999). These radical transformative concepts can be used to promote critical learning of teachers and students in both formal and informal settings.

My perceptions and beliefs are shaped by social justice principles and my research looks at equity issues, especially in the context of rural teachers and quality of education. Without considering power relations and social and institutional

structures, our understanding of context and participants would remain incomplete. The assumption of communities as homogeneous, harmonious and static group is not always true because communities are diverse groups governed by various hierarchies of power and a critical perspective attempts to address these power dynamics and relations.

Informal Learning

Teachers learn through socialization and informal learning of teachers plays a critical role in shaping their beliefs and practices. Foley (1999) considers informal learning as a key driver of social change or social transformation and, contends that informal learning is a continuous process and can promote consciousness, awakening and action. Teacher unions, teacher professional groups, activist organizations, etc. can use informal learning intentionally to reframe their reality and priorities.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

There is a growing recognition that education theory, school curriculum and instruction should be relevant and responsive to the culture(s) of students. Ladson-Billings (1995) has used the term "culturally relevant pedagogy" for pedagogical practice that "not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate" (p. 469). In culturally relevant pedagogy, students develop voice and critical consciousness, and facilitators (teachers) and students mutually deconstruct and construct knowledge (Freire, 1970).

The culturally relevant pedagogy must provide a way for students to maintain their cultural integrity while succeeding academically. Ladson-Billings (1995) argues that culturally relevant teaching develops students academically, nurture and support cultural competence and develops sociopolitical and critical consciousness. Culturally relevant teaching is important all over the world but especially for teaching in multicultural classrooms and for teaching disadvantaged children.

In my study, the selected teachers were teaching in remote schools and I explore if teacher education and practice is culturally relevant with a limited focus on use of local languages in teacher preparation as well as teaching practice in classrooms.

Holistic Education Perspectives

In recent years, the growing focus on standardized tests and achievement of students' learning outcomes has made teaching a challenging profession. Modern classrooms are multicultural with diverse students with multiple intelligences (Gardner, 2011), which makes the teacher's role especially important and challenging. Many teachers have low morale, high stress, attitude problems and many other emotional and psychological issues. An alternative option to address the growing problems in teaching and learning, as proposed by Lin (2013), is the idea of integrated intelligence, holistic education and wisdom-based education. A "wisdom-based education" combined with a "kindness-based education" is an education which promotes love, compassion, forgiveness, virtues, values and respect which are essential for peace and the world's well-being (Lin, 2013). The "holistic approach" to education makes learning a process of self-improvement, develops students to be

critical, confident, independent and experiential learners with interactions with environment in a social context (Patel, 2003). Teachers through meditation can find healing energy and compassionate teachers can heal and better support others, especially students, with trauma in life and difficulties in learning (Yeager & Howle, 2013). Some researchers (Stevens, 2016; Barbezat & Bush, 2014) argue that the issues of teachers' burnout, stress, low productivity, problems in professional development, ineffectiveness in classroom management and tensions in relations with students and parents could be effectively addressed through mindfulness-based meditation.

Pakistan like many other countries of the world, is facing man-made and natural disasters. Communities living in remote areas of Pakistan are witnessing growing problems of climate change, environmental degradation and conflicts.

I intend to draw only a few ideas from the holistic education approach. These ideas include education to promote peace, tolerance, love and care for humans and nature. My interview protocol included questions asking teachers if their training/learning experiences contained any form of holistic education (in the areas as above) which influenced their decisions to become teachers and/or influence their classroom practice.

Human Rights-Based Approach

I utilize human rights-based approach to examine the extent to which the rights of teachers to professional development, support, higher status and working conditions are fulfilled (both in policy and practice) in rural and remote areas of Pakistan. The human rights-based approved is explained as below.

In the field of international development, a human rights-based approaches are gaining popularity and used by many organizations and researchers. Rights-based approaches are human-centered, participatory and get moral legitimacy by using social justice principles (Darrow & Tomas, 2005). The "human rights-based approach to education" considers receiving free, quality education by every child as a fundamental human right (Tomasevski, 2003; UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007). In the context of this research, quality teaching is considered a right of disadvantaged children living in remote areas. Teachers in remote schools have the rights to professional development, support, higher status and working conditions, among other rights (ILO/UNESCO, 1966).

Human rights are complex and there are multiple perspectives for understanding and analyzing human rights. The United Nations Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) describes human rights as the:

> Rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status. We are all equally entitled to our human rights without discrimination. These rights are all interrelated, interdependent and indivisible. (OHCHR, 2017, para. 1)

The Right to Education

The right to education is essential and it enables the exercise of liberties and other rights such as the right to information, health, and work as well as the right to participate in cultural life (Friboulet, 2006). While each State has a unique history of human rights, including right to education, the first international treaty containing

right to education was adopted in 1921 by International Labor Organization (ILO). Since the adoption of Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the right to education has been enshrined in numerous international treaties, including both legally binding and non-binding instruments. Some of the important instruments addressing the right to education are:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948
- UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (CADE) 1960
- The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) 1966
- The Convention on the Rights of Child 1989

In addition to above core human rights instruments, 'the right to education' was enshrined in many international declarations and conventions, including: Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action 1993; World Declaration on Education for All, Jomtien 1990; Dakar Declaration on Education for All, 2000; Millennium Development Goals, 2000; and, more recently, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015.

Human rights approaches are important in conceptualizing overall development. Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen (1999) sees development as freedoms and the creation of capabilities. Poverty is the absence of capabilities which are essential to realize certain freedoms that are themselves fundamentally valuable for human dignity (Sen, 1999). Economic growth based on the dominant neoliberal ideology has failed to eliminate poverty and in fact rapidly increased inequality between and within countries. A recent report by Oxfam (2017) reveals that in 2017 the world's richest 8

persons own the same amount of wealth as 3.6 billion poor people of the entire world, and this is in sharp contrast with the estimates from 2016 when 62 wealthy persons owned same amount of wealth as half of the poor population of the world owned. In theory and policies, human rights law considers adequate housing, food, health and education, among other basic rights, as fundamental human rights, whereas the reality is that 800 million people live in poverty and destitution with less than $2 a day. Millions of poor, women, children, minorities, indigenous communities and other disadvantaged groups are denied their basic human rights.

Tomasevski (2003) argued that the "right to education" is immediate obligations of States and setting future target dates through EFA goals and MDGs is a betrayal every decade because States failed to protect and fulfil immediate obligations. No doubt that States have primary duty and obligation to protect and fulfil human rights but the human rights theory has not given adequate attention to the important role played by actors other than the State, such as civil society organizations and unions, etc., which advocate for the right to education and other human rights (Klees & Thapliyal, 2007).

Conceptual Framework

The previous section discussed macro theories and broad perspectives as a theoretical background that sheds light on my research. This section presents conceptual framework particularly used in this study. In this study, I use the "continuum of teacher learning" and "occupational choice theory" as my conceptual framework to study teacher preparation and recruitment, as discussed in this section.

Theory of Occupational Choice

According to Ginzberg (1988), occupational choice is a process through which individuals makes a series of decisions, making career choices by negotiating advantages and disadvantages of different professions and workplaces. An individual's career choices in teaching profession are influenced by multiple factors, such as salary differentials, working conditions, and efficiency of hiring procedures, among other factors (Murnane et al., 2009).

I attempt to gain insights into teachers' beliefs and experiences of how they made career choices to decide and enter into the teaching profession. Occupational choice theory helps in understanding possible explanations for an individual's decision about an occupation. Multiple factors and variables such as economic and social, among other variables influence an individual's career choices (Watt et al., 2012; Ginzberg, 1988).

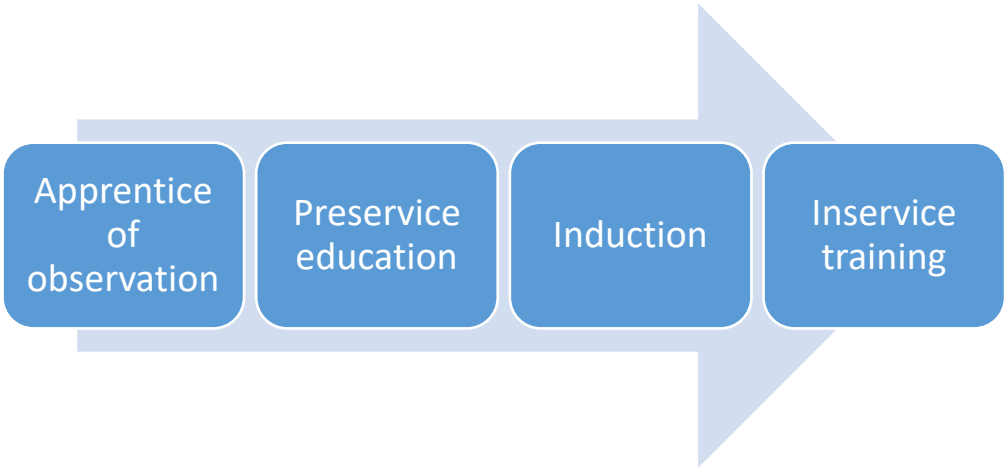
Continuum of Teacher Learning

There is a growing literature, which conceptualizes teacher learning and professional development as a continuous and long-term process (Lortie, 1975; OECD, 2005; McMahon et al., 2015; Schwille & Dembele, 2007). In this literature the continuum of teacher learning and continuum of teacher education are used interchangeably. The continuum of teacher education consists of both formal and informal educational and developmental activities, including the phases of initial teacher education, induction, CPD and late career support (Teaching Council Ireland, 2011). In this study, I use the following four main stages or phases of continuum of teacher learning, as outlined by Ginsburg (2016), Schwille & Dembele (2007), and

Feiman-Nemser (2001): 1) the apprenticeship of observation; 2) formal preservice education; 3) induction; and 4) inservice training. These four phases of teacher learning are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Continuum of Teacher Learning



It is important to note, however, that these stages may overlap and may not necessarily be linear, depending on teachers' context. My study explores teacher perceptions and experiences using the framework of the above four stages. However, more detailed data emerged in relation to the preservice and inservice training or stages, because these are more formally structured stages of education.

Apprenticeship of Observation

The starting point in the continuum of teacher learning has been termed "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie, 1975; Schwille & Dembele, 2007). Initially, Lortie (1975) introduced the idea of "apprenticeship of observation" as the first and a critical stage of teacher learning process. Besides the official curriculum, there is also a "hidden curriculum," which means that learning takes place informally by watching

teachers, peers, teacher educators, etc. In this initial phase, future teachers observe their own school teachers, with the outcome that "many teachers are more influenced in teaching by how they themselves were taught in elementary and secondary school than by their formal teacher education" (Ginsburg, 2010, p. 72).

A study on teacher educators/faculty found that most of the teacher educators in teacher training colleges in Pakistan used lecture method, even while they were teaching topics such as "how to use multiple teaching methods in classroom" (USAID & AED, 2010). Hence, student teachers didn't observe teacher educators practicing any modern teaching methods at teacher training colleges and this example reveals how teacher educators in some cases fail to practice what they preach. Furthermore, the practices observed being used by teacher educators were likely to be similar to the practices of the primary and secondary school teachers the students in the teacher education program had observed previously.

Prospective teachers' perceptions about teaching, teaching methods, etc. are developed during this initial phase of observations. These perceptions and beliefs are hard to change, and they may need to be unlearned if teachers are to develop new ways of teaching during the preservice or inservice programs.

Preservice Teacher Education

The objective of preservice teacher education, as noted by Feiman-Nemser (2001), is to develop subject matter knowledge, understanding of learners, tools and dispositions to study teaching, and, a beginning repertoire of strategies and practices. The term preservice teacher education is synonymously used for preservice teacher preparation, preservice teacher training, initial teacher training and prospective

teacher training. There are variations across countries and within countries on models and structure of preservice teacher education, but generally it is a formal education and training of teachers in colleges/universities, or in some cases "alternative certification programs," to prepare future teachers.

Induction

Induction is the stage of teacher learning and professional development, which begins when a teacher joins a school as a novice or beginning teacher. The learning tasks in induction phase are to learn the context, design responsive instructional program, create a classroom learning community, and develop a professional identity with newly established relations with colleagues (Feiman-Nemser, 2001). During the induction phase, teachers likely get a formal or informal orientation and develop new perceptions that may contradict or reinforce their previously developed perceptions about the teacher's role, their professional identity, the school culture, pedagogical approaches, and the way classrooms function in the real world. The application of theoretical understanding gained during preservice education begins during the induction stage and novice teachers start facing new challenges in schools.

The purpose, content, duration and implementation strategy of induction programs vary significantly in different contexts. For example, in 2004, formal induction was not mandatory and such a program was not offered in Finland and Germany, while the length of the formal induction program was 7 months in South Korea and 1 year in Israel and Japan (OECD, 2005). In countries with advanced induction programs, the new teachers are guided and supported by "mentors" who are

"experienced teachers." In most developing countries, there is no systemic induction program and new teachers rarely get an extensive orientation and receive little or no formal support from experienced colleagues.

Inservice Training

In the continuum of teacher learning, inservice training is the last stage, but arguably the longest and, potentially, the most important stage, which continues throughout the career of a teacher. Since teachers who are already in schools and in service go through this stage of teacher learning, it is commonly known as the teachers' "inservice training," though inservice training experiences may be infrequent and sporadic. Other terms used for inservice training are "staff development," "teacher training," "In-service Education of Teachers (INSET)," "teacher professional development" and "continuing or continuous professional development." Inservice training generally has been organized as a one-shot workshop model and "conjures up the narrow definition of short training sessions provided away from the school setting, or programs to gain further teaching credentials" (Craig et al., 1998, p. 105). The term "inservice training" is being replaced with the new perspective of continuous professional development of teachers which represents the "idea of comprehensive development, which may include training, ongoing support, career growth, incentives, etc." (Craig et at., 1998, p. 105). Also, professional development is perceived to involve "transformations in teachers' knowledge, understanding, skills and commitments, in what they know and what they are able to do in their individual practice as well as in their shared responsibilities" (Feiman-Nemser, 2001, p. 1038).

The above stages of teacher learning continuum provide an analytical framework to study phases of teacher learning and teacher education and this was adapted keeping in view my research objectives. The next section discusses concepts and trends in teacher quality and models of teacher education.

Teacher Quality and Emerging Models of Teacher Education

Teacher Quality and Student Learning

Although, debates on what constitute an effective teacher and teacher education continue, there appears to be some consensus that the teacher is – or should be – a "self-learner," "reflective practitioner," "child-centered" practitioner, and "active researcher" and that teacher education is – or should be – a "context-based," "collaborative" and "career-long learning process." (Ashraf et al., 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Ginsburg, 2016; Schleicher, 2012; Schwille & Dembele, 2007; OECD, 2005; UNESCO, 2006; Villegas-Reimers, 2003). Teacher characteristics, such as qualifications and experience, are important aspects of teacher quality, but student learning is also influenced by the characteristics of teachers, which are harder to measure, as well as the characteristics and background of the student and education system features (e.g., curriculum, instructional materials, classroom conditions). Multiple factors determine students' learning outcomes and according to the European Commission (2012):

> Variation in learners' achievements is predominantly a product of individual and family background characteristics. However, within educational institutions, teachers have the most important impact on the performance of learners; other staff, such as educational leaders,

> trainers and educators, are also essential to improve the quality of teaching and learning. (p. 5)

Recently, there is a growing literature on education quality, showing a consensus that one of the most important factors influencing classroom teaching practices and student achievement is the capability of teachers (Day et al., 2007; OECD, 2005; Schwille & Dembele, 2007; UNESCO, 2006; UNESCO, 2015a). The teacher capabilities and skills include "the ability to convey ideas in clear and convincing ways; to create effective learning environments for different types of students; to foster productive teacher-student relationship; to be enthusiastic and creative; and to work effectively with colleagues and parents" (OECD, 2005, p. 27).

Improving education quality requires well prepared teachers and there is a greater need to focus on quality of initial teacher preparation as well as inservice professional development (Darling-Hammond, 2006). For instance, Villegas-Reimers (2003) argues that:

> Successful professional development opportunities for teachers have a significant positive effect on students' performance and learning. Thus, when the goal is to increase students' learning and to improve their performance, the professional development of teachers should be considered a key factor, and this at the same time must feature as an element in a larger reform. (p. 29)

The renewed focus on teachers and their changing role requires well prepared teachers with adequate knowledge, skills and dispositions. Darling-Hammond (2012)

emphasizes the need for good teachers who are well prepared and committed to ongoing learning. She states that:

> A highly skilled teaching force results from developing well-prepared teachers from recruitment through preparation and inservice professional development. Support for teacher learning and evaluation must be part of an integrated whole that enables effectiveness during every stage of a teacher's career. (p. 9)

However, there are no uniform and standard policies and practices for teacher education as there is considerable variation across and within different societal contexts. Moreover, Schleicher (2012) contends that there is no single best method of teacher education to improve teaching practice. The debates on content, length, methods, structure and implementation of preservice and inservice teacher training continue with little consensus and mixed findings from research. There is an unsettled debate on what is the ideal balance of content and pedagogy in teachers' professional development programs.

In a recent quantitative study, Zakharov et al. (2016) analyzed empirically the relationship between classroom inputs (teacher characteristics and classroom resources) and student outcomes (6^{th} Grade student achievement in reading and mathematics) in Swaziland, Kenya, and South Africa. Some of these findings are stated as below:

- Assigning girls more consistently to female teachers may improve girls' academic achievement across three very different African contexts;

- Increasing teachers' subject knowledge in some countries (Swaziland and South Africa) would probably contribute to higher student achievement, but more likely for middle and higher SES students … [T]eachers with university degrees have a positive effect on low SES student achievement in South Africa
- Reducing teacher absence also seems to contribute to higher achievement for lower SES students in Swaziland, where teacher absenteeism is low; however, in South Africa, the country with the highest teacher absenteeism, reducing days absent only seems to be related positively to higher SES students' achievement. (Zakharov et al., 2016, p. 121-122)

This study further found that, "effects of higher teacher content knowledge are rather small: a one standard deviation increase in teacher test score… could result in less than 0.10 standard deviation increase in student achievement" (2016, p. 122). Winthrop & Kirk (2005) argue that teacher development has a positive impact on student well-being, especially in countries going through conflict and reconstruction. They found that "improved support for teachers' professional development is vital during emergency, chronic crisis and early reconstruction contexts as teachers can have a significant impact on their students' well-being" (2005, p. 18). Moreover, teacher training enhanced confidence and effectiveness of teachers. For instance, "in Ethiopia the inservice teacher training enabled teachers to function fairly effectively, newly acquired tools such as lesson planning gave teachers – in the words of one man – 'confidence to stand up in front of the class' " (Winthrop & Kirk, 2005, p. 19).

Emerging Models of Teacher Education

A plethora of teacher education models and approaches are being practiced in different parts of the world. Most of the teacher training initiatives are a combination of different models with multiple strategies. Some of the emerging models of teacher education and professional development are following:

Cascade Model

The cascade model has been practiced mostly in contexts where large numbers of teachers need to be trained on specific content knowledge or pedagogical techniques. Usually, the training in the cascade model is designed and planned without participation of teachers, and "experts" train a small group who are called "master trainers," who further train "trainers," and finally "trainers" conduct training sessions for the teachers. The cascade model is based on the assumption that the aims of training will be achieved through "cascading-down" of training in different layers. However, when not properly planned or implemented, this model may become a non-participatory, less effective, de-contextualized training with diluted messages reaching final audience (i.e. teachers). Feiman-Nemser (2001) argues that "instead of discrete, external events provided for teachers, professional development should be built into the ongoing work of teaching and relate to teachers' questions and concerns" (p. 1042). As an attempt to address the shortcomings in traditional cascade model, alternative models such as "school-based models," "school networks," "teacher networks," "peer learning" etc. are increasingly researched and practiced in many countries.

School-based Models and Communities of Practice

A school-based model of professional development is "very effective for long term guided learning," provided that school environment is conducive and promotes "mentoring," "peer coaching," "open discussions," "classroom supervision," "observations of excellent teachers," "visits to other classrooms and schools" (Craig et al., 1998, p. 113).

Preservice teacher education is mostly conducted remotely in universities and colleges, with little interaction with schools and traditional inservice training is conducted by a trainer in a training center with no interaction with school classrooms and children. Contrary to the traditional preservice and inservice teacher training, a well-designed school-based model of professional development promotes child-centered, life-long and cooperative learning, where teachers develop long-term mentor and peer learning relations.

Teachers as communities of practice is another idea closely related to school-based peer learning models. One distinction is that communities of practice do not need to be limited to a single school and may indeed be virtual communities. Teachers learn most from each other and through dialogue, discussions and thoughtful conversations with colleagues. Teachers develop their knowledge of content, improve pedagogical skills and, as Feiman-Nemser (2001) contends, "professional development takes place through serious, ongoing conversation. The conversation occurs in communities of practice… teachers can deepen knowledge of subject matter and curriculum, refine their instructional repertoire, hone their inquiry

skills, and become critical colleagues" (p. 1042). Another emerging model of communities of practice is "lessons study" (Akiba, 2016).

University-School Partnerships/Professional Development Schools

Several forms of partnerships between universities and schools are being established with the aim of improving both preservice and inservice professional development of teachers. One model of university-school partnership is "professional development schools" model. In this model, the partnership between university and school is built on the premise that teachers in university as well as school are of equal value to the partnership and to the process of preservice as well as inservice professional development (Darling-Hammond, 1994). University-school partnerships enable students in preservice teacher education programs to gain direct experience of working with mentors and senior teachers besides university faculty, while inservice teachers may benefit from their interactions with student teachers as well as university faculty members. Also, the university faculty members get a chance to better understand and know school classroom practices and environments. For example, in the USA:

> Some universities and colleges have [been] offering vouchers to co-operating or mentor teachers to come to the universities for more course work and experiences as a reward for their work with student-teachers in a particular institute. In such an arrangement, experienced teachers who are willing to participate in educating and supervising student-teachers can also attend courses and experiences in institutions of higher education, thus keeping themselves informed of the latest theories, practices and research studies in

> their field. University faculty also benefit from sharing their knowledge and research with experienced practitioners. (Villegas-Reimers, 2003, p. 78)

Cobb (2000) conducted a study of a professional development school initiative in Texas, USA and concluded that "the inservice teachers' attitudes toward the professional development school initiative were positive and their perceptions of its impact favorable, with a trend toward more positive attitudes from year three to year four" (p. 64).

School Networks and Teacher Networks

Schools and teachers can learn from each other. Thus, in order to support teachers' professional development and school improvement, school networks have been established in many countries. In Australia, a successful innovation is the National Schools Network (NSN), which has supported over 400 Australian schools and linked professional development with ongoing school-based research initiatives and teachers have developed skills and competencies such as learning, participation, collaboration, co-operation, activism and research (Sachs, 2000). Use of modern technology including internet, shared data and video conferencing, etc. can further improve effectiveness of school networks.

Furthermore, there are several small-scale and school-based techniques and strategies to promote professional development of teachers which can be adapted in different situations keeping in view the context and needs of teachers. Some examples of small scale and school-based techniques, as outlined by Villegas-Reimers (2003), are: teachers as reflective practitioners; action research; workshops, seminars, conferences and courses; case-based professional development; self-directed

development; cooperative or collegial development; and, observations of excellent practice.

Like school networks, teacher networks can be created formally or informally as well as online or onsite. The teacher networks provide a forum for teachers to discuss their issues, pedagogical knowledge, practices and professional development activities and help each other in improving teaching and learning, besides achieving other aims which affect teachers' work. "Teachers' networks bring teachers together to address the problems which they experience in their work, and thus promote their own professional development as individuals and as groups" (Villegas-Reimers, 2003, p. 80).

In Japan, teachers have established groups as an alternative to government-created and sponsored programs of inservice professional development with the aim to improve teaching practices (Shimahara, 1995). Teacher networks could be established for multiple aims or subject-specific interests such as mathematics and language teacher networks. Teacher Inquiry Groups (TIGs), established in government schools of Pakistan and supported by USAID Pakistan Reading Project (2017), are examples of teacher networks. In the TIG model, teachers meet once every month at cluster level to discuss and learn from their experiences related mainly to "early grade reading," and these groups were established to promote peer learning and sharing of experiences and new ideas.

Distance Education

In distance education model of teacher training, a significant portion of training is conducted remotely as the trainee teachers and teacher educators are

separated from each other in space and/or time. Various means could be used to facilitate interactions and, disseminate course content and assignments, including materials sent to trainees through postal service, radio, television, mobile phones, and online networks. A variety of distance education programs for teachers are offered all over the world and their content, materials, delivery methods and assessment vary considerably. The model of distance education is most commonly used as a "cost-effective" way of training teachers who are scattered in remote locations or in cases where participants cannot physically attend classes (Tatto et al., 1993). In context where cultural barriers restrict women from leaving their homes to attend professional development program, distance education has helped training of women teachers (Bukhsh, 2007).

The telecommunication revolution has resulted in wide range of online courses offered via internet and modern technology is creating new platforms for teacher learning. More than half of the universities in the UK are involved in distance education by offering postgraduate courses, while UNESCO and Commonwealth of Learning also offer distance learning programs for teachers. In Pakistan, Allama Iqbal Open University (AIOU) is the largest public university offering teacher education programs through distance learning. However, critics point out that less exposure to school settings and lack of face-to-face interaction between teacher educators and teachers are among key shortcomings of distance learning model. According to Villegas-Reimers (2003), "there is very little evidence to support the claim that teacher education at a distance leads to improved classroom practice" (p. 84-85). In addition, there are indirect costs (e.g., opportunity cost borne by trainees) which are

often not visible, but important when considering cost-effectiveness of distance learning (Schwille & Dembele, 2007).

Alternative Needs Response Models

The alternative needs response models are designed by combining different models which may include distance education, cascade model, teacher center and outreach model, etc.; the alternative needs response models are useful to train large number of teachers in short period of time (Craig et al., 1998). An example of this model is Field-Based Training Development Program (FBTDP) in Pakistan, which was designed by Aga Khan Education Services (AKES) in 1984 to address the issue of untrained teachers and shortage of teachers in rural mountain areas of northern Pakistan. The FBTDP is a one-year program which used the primary teaching certificate syllabus along with modern teaching and learning models such as cooperative learning, child-centered learning and mentoring, etc. In the FBTDP model, training was primarily based in schools where principals -- master trainers -- facilitated and supported training program. This was first time that a long-term coherent on-the-job training program based in schools was experienced by teachers and after one year, teachers who completed all components of the training were granted primary teaching certificate. Moreover, "teachers completing the course were found to have positive attitudes towards teaching, better planned and structured lessons, were effective in asking questions and using instructional aids, and could maintain students' interest" (Craig et al., 1998, p. 117).

Lastly, it is important to underline that elements of different models can be combined in practice depending on the context.

Other Important Factors Affecting Teacher Education

Factors such as financial and human resources, teacher cultures, school systems, teacher status, geographical dispersion of teachers and other social, political and economic factors influence teacher learning throughout the careers of teachers both inside schools and outside schools.

Financial Resources

Finances are important for any program and the cost of training includes visible, non-visible, direct and indirect costs associated with training. The source of funding also plays a major role in training program design and implementation. Donor-funded programs tend to have more financial resources compared to government-funded training in developing countries and consequently donors have more say in decisions related to training design and implementation.

The financing of education sector remains a crucial issue in educational development. One of the main causes of failure to achieve EFA and MDG goals completely was a funding gap. According to UNESCO (2015a), besides low government budget allocation to education, the donors "failed on their commitment to deliver aid more effectively, achieving just 1 of 13 aid effectiveness targets" (p. 239). A recent study on "pricing the right to education" by UNESCO (2015b) shows that "the total annual financial gap between available domestic resources and the amount necessary to reach the new education targets is projected to average $US39 billion between 2015 and 2030" (p. 1).

Filling the financing gap is possible if donor countries spend only "(i) 0.7% of their gross national income on aid and (ii) 10% of their aid portfolio on basic and

secondary education. The gap is equal to just 8 days of annual global military expenditure" (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 8). That this level of donor support has not occurred indicates that lack of political will is a key obstacle for allocation of financial resources to education.

Human Resources

The capacity, skills and knowledge of policy makers, administrators, teacher educators and teachers are critical to ensure that preservice teacher education as well as inservice professional development programs are well designed, adequately resourced, effectively implemented and evaluated. Unlike teacher training, the training of "teacher educators" has not been high on agenda of educational reform. Khamies & Sammons (2004) argue that well trained teacher educators can play a critical role as "change agents" by transforming trainee teachers and improving education quality. The low status of teachers has made teaching a profession of last choice in many societies and, since most of the prospective teachers come from poor academic background, both preservice and inservice training fail to sufficiently improve content knowledge of trainees.

Time

When teachers are given more time for planning, discussion and other professional development activities, teachers are able to teach more effectively in schools resulting in better student learning outcomes (Darling-Hammond, 1999). One of the challenges related to teachers' time is how to balance the time devoted to teacher professional development and teachers' time devoted to classroom teaching and also teachers' family and lives.

Geographical Location of Teachers and Schools

Generally, rural schools are under-resourced compared to urban schools, especially in developing countries. Rural schools lack trained teachers, learning materials, financial resources, housing, transportation and physical facilities, among other resources (Haugen et al., 2014). Shortage of teachers, particularly trained teachers, and lack of professional development opportunities for teachers are major challenges in rural and remote area schools. As the context of rural areas is different from urban areas, training models that are successful in urban areas may not necessarily work for teachers in rural and remote schools.

Ginsburg (2016) argues that professional development programs tend to focus only on the various roles that teachers play in classrooms (e.g., lesson planning, instructional strategies, student discipline), but there is also a need to prepare teachers for their broader roles in "local education groups" and other arenas of "social dialogue."

Furthermore, Stromquist et al. (2013) suggest that, "overhauling teacher training programs to give more central consideration to gender in the shaping of educational outcomes and choices is fundamental. Teachers should be trained in gender theory and its relevant to education" (p. 530).

Teachers' experiences are valuable (Day et al., 2007; OECD, 2005) and designing effective and long-term professional development programs and ensuring successful implementation require serious participation and engagement of teachers at all stages, right from conceptualization till training implementation and evaluations (Schwille & Dembele, 2007; Ginsburg, 2010).

Moreover, professional development needs to be linked with recognition, motivation, financial reward and career advancement of teachers (Leu & Ginsburg, 2011). In order to improve quality of education, excellent teachers use student-centered and "active-learning pedagogies" (Ginsburg, 2010) and, a successful teacher learning model is based on partnerships of schools, teacher unions and teachers (Feiman-Nemser, 2001).

In summary, teacher capability is one of the main factors influencing the quality of education and student learning outcomes. Although there is no single best model of teacher education (Schleicher, 2012), the context-based, cost-effective, long-term, coherent and connected teacher education programs that engage teachers in all key stages are likely to be more successful. New models and techniques such as school-based training, peer learning, collaborative learning, as well as school and teacher networks may offer more effective approaches for teacher professional development. Radical changes in teaching and learning require significant improvements to the ways that teachers are recruited, trained, retained and supported throughout their careers (European Commission, 2012).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed theoretical perspectives as background concepts to understand the broader field of teaching and learning. I presented the occupational choice theory and continuum of teacher learning as the conceptual framework for this study. I use the occupational choice theory to gain insights into the factors influencing teachers' decisions to enter teaching profession. The four stages of the continuum of teacher learning (i.e. apprenticeship of observation, preservice teacher education,

induction, and inservice training) are utilized as a framework to study teacher preparation and learning.

The last section of this chapter discussed concepts and on-going debates on teacher quality and emerging models of teacher education. The discussion concluded that there is no single best model of teacher education (Schleicher, 2012), but the context-based, coherent and connected teacher education programs that engage teachers in all key stages are likely to be more successful.

CHAPTER 3: RURAL CONTEXT AND TEACHER EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

This chapter examines the rural context, rural schools and educational challenges with a focus on Pakistan. A research study on teacher preparation and recruitment in rural areas requires understanding of the meaning of rural areas, demographics and educational challenges, within a broader context of rural society and development.

Context of Rural Areas

Defining Rural Areas

There is no standard definition of "rural areas" and the definitions vary from country to country. Even within a country, the definition of "rural" may vary based on the purpose and criteria used to define "rural." In Europe, rural areas can be any area with a population of 100-500 per square kilometer (sq km). In the United States, multiple definitions of "rural" areas are used by federal agencies, but generally rural could mean "any non-urban area," "places with fewer than 2,500 people," "places with population density of less than 1000 persons per square mile" (USDA, 2016). In India – the country with largest rural population on earth – a rural area is defined by "a population of less than 5,000," "density of population less than 400 per sq km" and an area where "more than 25 percent of the male working population is engaged in agricultural pursuits" (Government of India, 2016). In the case of Pakistan, rural is defined based on administrative criteria as a non-urban area (ILO, 2017). Urban areas are the places with Municipal Corporation, Town Committee or Cantonment. Anyone who does not live within urban administrative boundaries is designated as a "rural"

dweller, but critics (Zaidi, 2017, August 29) argue that this classification of "rural" is wrong because millions of people live just outside city boundaries, in areas called "peri-urban," commute daily to and work in cities, but they are still considered rural population, resulting in overestimation of rural population.

Generally, rural areas, particularly in developing countries, are characterized by: poor infrastructure; poor housing facilities; lack of access to quality education and health facilities; agriculture and agro-based small industry as the primary source of livelihood; dependence on environment and natural resources; weak state institutions; strong local socio-cultural and political structures; and traditional way of life, among other characteristics.

Rural-Urban Demographics

Changes in human demography, geographical location and socioeconomic situations have been continuous throughout the history of human civilizations. Industrialization, new technologies, globalization, expansion of trade and infrastructure, natural and human-made disasters, among other factors, result in mass migration of people from rural to urban areas. It is estimated that in the year 1800, only 3 percent of the world's population lived in urban areas, which slowly increased to 14 percent in the year 1900 (Population Reference Bureau, 2016). The twentieth century was characterized by rapid urbanization, such that by 1950, 30 percent of the world's population was urban and, then by 2008, for the first time in human history, the urban population was greater than rural population as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

World Population Trends in Rural and Urban Areas (in percentage)

Year	1950	2008	2014	2050 (projection)
Rural Population	70%	49%	46%	34%
Urban Population	30%	51%	54%	66%

Note. Data from United Nations Population Division (2014).

The data in Table 1 reveal that the percentage of rural population is projected to decrease to approximately one third of the total human population on the planet by 2050, mainly due to rapid urbanization in Asia and Africa.

According to United Nations Population Division (2014), approximately 3.4 billion people (46 percent of world's population) live in rural areas, of which 90 percent live in Africa and Asia. India has the largest rural population with 857 million, followed by China with 635 million. In addition to the regional variations, there are huge variations in rural-urban distribution of population across countries and within countries. For instance, both Niger and Libya are in North Africa, but in Niger 82 percent of the population is rural compared to only 22 percent of the population in Libya being rural.

Education and Rural Development

Rural Areas and Educational Challenges

The decreasing ratio of rural population does not necessarily mean that there are fewer poor living in rural areas. In fact, according to the World Bank's definition

of extreme poverty (income below $1.25 a day), 78 percent of the total 800 million poor people live in rural areas. The majority of poor live in fragile contexts and remote rural areas; they face multiple challenges, including lack of access to quality education, healthcare, electricity, safe water and other services, which are often determined by socio-economic status, gender, ethnicity and geographical location (World Bank, 2016, October 2). A research study examining rural/urban inequality in Africa found that the living standards (measured by assets, education and health indicators) in rural areas lag far behind those in urban areas (Sahn & Stifel, 2003). A key indicator of social development in rural areas is access to and quality of education.

Education is a critical foundation for rural development and empowerment of disadvantaged groups which include rural poor, women, minorities and indigenous communities. According to UNICEF (2014), on average, each additional year of education a child receives increases his or her adult earnings by about 10 percent, and for each additional year of schooling completed, on average, by young adults in a country, that country's poverty rates fall by nine percent. Rihani (2006) argues that the secondary education of girls has deep impact on society, as it results in improved health, education and social well-being of whole families and societies.

World Bank economists have been advocating for higher investment in primary education because, as Psacharopoulos (1994) argued, the rate of return is highest for primary education in developing countries especially in rural areas, but the rate of returns decline once the level of schooling and per capital income increases. However, critics (Klees et al., 2012) argue that World Bank's focus on primary

education, based on a flawed rate of returns methodology (Klees, 2016), has undermined secondary education, vocational and technical education, and higher education in developing countries where skilled workforce is already in short supply.

While international attention has focused mainly on access to primary education, the quality of education in rural areas remains a key challenge as many children leave school without the skills and knowledge, they need to lift themselves out of poverty (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007). Although, overall enrollments have improved globally, what happens inside classroom is a critical determinant of student learning outcomes. The issues of global learning crises and teacher shortages, as already discussed in chapter 1, are more serious in rural areas. Learning outcomes are lower in rural areas compared to urban areas. For instance, in South Africa in 2011, only 35% of primary school children in rural areas achieved minimum reading scores, compared to 70% children in urban areas; likewise, the rural-urban ratio in mathematics test scores was 45:75 in 2007 (UNESCO, 2015a).

Unfortunately, most of children living in rural areas are deprived of their right to free quality education. Raising the quality of education in rural areas requires trained and motivated teachers, teaching and learning materials and safe learning environment, among other factors. More female teachers are needed in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia and there is need to raise status of teachers. In a study on female teachers in Liberia, Stromquist et al. (2012) found that female teachers especially in rural areas face cultural barriers and difficult working conditions, such as lack of transportation, housing, childcare service, roads, and late payment of salaries, and large classes filled with overage students. Moreover, youth living in

rural areas are less likely to have convenient access to secondary schools. For example, in the Kindia area, a rural region of Guinea, "there were 681 primary schools scattered in the various towns and villages. For those students completing primary school, however, only 41 secondary schools were available to absorb them" (Rihani, 2006, p. 20). And this situation makes school distances very long to walk and unsafe, especially for girls and female teachers. Research shows that female teachers have positive impact on girls' enrolment and learning outcomes, but there is shortage of female teachers in rural areas and teachers' status, salaries, motivation are low and living and working conditions extremely poor (Stromquist et al., 2017).

UNICEF (2014) estimates that nearly three quarters of the 2.5 billion people around the world who still have no access to improved sanitation, live in rural areas. In Sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia, respectively, only 48% and 68% of the schools had basic sanitation facilities or toilets (UNESCO, 2016). The regional and country level data mask local inequalities. Therefore, analysis of disaggregated data helps in exploring disparities, for example, based on location (rural-urban). According to UNESCO (2015a), among 63 countries observed during 2008-12 the "average out-of-school rate was 16% in rural areas compared with 8% in urban areas" (p. 8).

In addition, nations have failed to achieve the literacy and adult education targets of EFA. There are still 781 million illiterates in the world, although the rate of illiteracy dropped slightly from 18% in 2000 to 14% in 2015. Rural livelihoods are based on agriculture, and hence literacy programs, non-formal education, and adult skills development programs are extremely important to build capacity of adults and

promote social and economic development. Non-formal education programs as well as vocational and technical skills programs, if effectively implemented, have the potential to promote sustainable development, increase agricultural output, improve food security, and reduce malnutrition in children, among other positive implications. The percentage of youth (15-24) enrolled in secondary, technical and vocational education in 2014 was only 0.7% and 0.6% in Southern Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, respectively, while fewer girls compared to boys enrolled (UNESCO, 2016).

Living in rural areas can be a major obstacle, especially for the poor, and huge disparities in access to quality education still exist between rural and urban areas. **"**School alone is not likely to affect any major rural transformation…[I]n fact, education is but one element that contributes to rural development and at certain stages is conceivably far from being the most important" (Foster & Sheffield, 1973, p. 5). The piece-meal approach in rural development might not work in complex rural environments; therefore, "massive" and "multi-pronged efforts" are needed for rural development in order to attack rural poverty, illiteracy, disease, ignorance and injustice (Paulston & LeRoy, 1982). Hence, an "integrated rural development approach" based on social justice and human rights approach may address some of the development challenges in rural areas.

The barriers to promote education in rural areas includes corruption and nepotism in various forms (Brixi et al., 2015). Since power is centered in urban areas, there is an "urban bias," resulting in poor allocation of resources to rural areas. That is, for urban-based policy makers, rural areas are not a priority and hence discriminated against (Lipton, 2000).

In the context of rural schools, teacher motivation is adversely affected by multiple factors. Newly inducted teachers often receive the least desirable postings in rural and hard-to-reach schools, which are under-resourced and even without basic facilities (Richardson et al., 2014). Rural schools have shortage of teachers, hence multigrade teaching is a common practice but, oftentimes, support for new teachers is insufficient and both preservice and inservice teacher education fail to prepare teachers for rural context and multigrade teaching (Richardson et al., 2014).

However, there are still many countries, including Pakistan, where educational access, quality and equity remain key challenges, particularly in rural areas.

Educational Landscape of Pakistan

Pakistan, officially known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, is a lower-middle income country, covering an area of 796,096 square kilometers (km). It is located in South Asia, bordering China, India, Afghanistan and Iran, while a coastal belt of 700 km connects it to Middle East and South East Asia. The country has a rich history going back to Indus civilization 8000 years ago and has been influenced and ruled by ancient Persian, Greek, Arab and Central Asian Empires and Warriors. Pakistan was part of British Colonial India and got independence in 1947, but after a war in 1971, East Pakistan emerged as a new country known as Bangladesh.

Pakistan's geopolitical situation is important as on the one side China is a close friend, but borders with other neighboring countries like India and Afghanistan are disputed. In recent years, the country has been facing security challenges from militant groups. Taliban have bombed and attacked schools and universities in Pakistan, killing hundreds of innocent school children and teachers. Malala Yousafzai

– the first Pakistani to win the Nobel Peace Prize – has been promoting girls' education worldwide and she has become an international icon for education. With an estimated population of 220 million in 2020, Pakistan is the fifth most populous country in the World. The results from the national census showed that Pakistan's population rapidly increased from 33.7 million in 1951 to 83.7 million in 1981 and the most recent census in 2017 showed that Pakistan's population increased to 207.7 million with average growth rate of 2.4 % (Government of Pakistan, 2017). As the final results of Census 2017 were still pending, therefore, this study used most recent country data available from UNESCO and other international agencies as well as Government of Pakistan's Census data from 1998. According to the census of 1998, the proportion of rural population was 67.5% and 96% of the population was Muslim (Government of Pakistan, 1998). Pakistan's social indicators are among the lowest in the region, and neighboring countries (with exception of Afghanistan) have higher socio-economic indicators.

Within the context of rural Pakistan, this dissertation research's case study area would be the remote mountain areas of Northern Pakistan in Gilgit-Baltistan province, one of Pakistan's 7 provinces/regions. With a population of more than 1.5 million, approximately 86% percent being rural dwellers living in remote villages, Gilgit-Baltistan is among the most remote rural areas of the country, characterized by poverty, low quality social services including education, small landholdings, traditional way of life, subsistence agriculture, diverse scattered population, lack of infrastructure, and vulnerability to natural and human-made disasters. Northern Pakistan is strategically important due to its borders with China, India and

Afghanistan, and these mountain areas have the largest concentration of high mountains in the world, including K-2, the second highest peak in the world. These remote mountain areas of Northern Pakistan are among the most neglected regions in the country. Most of the population are members of ethnic minority groups and they tend to be economically disadvantaged. The next section outlines educational landscape of Pakistan, highlighting disparities based on gender, region, etc.

The State of Education in Pakistan

Pakistan's Constitution guarantees free and compulsory education for all children, ages 5 to 16 years; thus, education is a basic right of all citizens (Government of Pakistan, 1973). Pakistan ranks 147 out of 188 countries on the Human Development Index and the adult literacy rate is 58%. The recent data from Pakistan Education Statistics 2015-16 (Government of Pakistan, 2017, p. 5) show that there are 303,446 institutions (37% private), 47.5 million students (42% in private institutions), 1.7 million teachers (48% in private sector), and 56% students are male compared to 44% female students.

Pakistan with around 6 million out-of-school children has the second highest number of out-of-school children in the world, and gender disparities are wide, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Out-of-School Children (in millions) in Pakistan

Country	Number of Out-of-School Children (in millions)					
	2002			2013		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
Pakistan	7.84	4.86	2.98	6.05	3.40	2.31

Note. Data source was UIS (2016). There is a minor error in total calculation for 2013 data.

The children living in rural areas are generally more disadvantaged, as 31% children in rural areas are out-of-school, compared to 15% in urban areas (see Table 3).

Table 3

Out-of-School Children of Primary Age (in percentage) in 2013

Country	Total	Gender		Rural/Urban	
		Female	Male	Rural	Urban
Pakistan	26%	30%	22%	31%	15%

Note. Data source is UNESCO WIDE, 2016.

Moreover, huge disparities continue on the basis of wealth as only 4% of the richest quintile of children are out-of-school in Pakistan compared to 54% of the poorest quintile of children in Pakistan (UIS, 2016). Regional disparities are extreme. For example, the Gender Parity Index (GPI) of gross enrollment ratio (GER) secondary level is 0.80 at national level, but in FATA region, GPI is 0.24, revealing a huge gap between boys' and girls' access to educational opportunities (Government of Pakistan, 2014).

The gross graduation rate from primary education was only 50% in Pakistan in 2010 (UIS, 2016), and, those who complete primary education do not necessarily achieve minimum learning outcomes as defined by national standards. According to Government of Pakistan (2014), assessment of Grade 4 students reveals that only 24% students in the language test and only 19% students in the mathematics test "scored greater than the scaled mean score" (p. 13). Pakistan's Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) for 2014 reveals a learning crisis in Pakistan, as only "46% boys and 39% girls are able to read at least a sentence in Urdu and only 45% boys and 38% girls with basic arithmetic skills (able to do subtraction)" (p. 16).

Constraints and challenges for educational access and student learning outcomes include poverty, untrained teachers, multigrade teaching, lack of community participation, illiterate parents and lack of political commitment and good governance (Zakar et al., 2013). Also listed as challenges are long distances to schools, lack of basic facilities, poor quality and unavailability of textbooks, and low quality of teaching and learning in classrooms. In some rural areas, culture and traditions limit girls' attendance, completion, and performance in schools. Some of these barriers are early marriages, large families, and beliefs in some conservative areas, where some people still consider secular education to be western and, hence, send their children to Islamic/mosque/madrassah schools. In addition, corporal punishment, low parental/teacher aspirations and patriarchy restrict children's education in rural areas (Jatoi, 1991).

At the national level, the number of male and female teachers is nearly equal, but there are wide regional disparities. For example, the northern province of Gilgit-

Baltistan has only 38% female teachers and, within this province, the Diamer district has only 7% female teachers. Presence of male teachers and male students in some areas lead to the perception and reality that schools are unsafe for girls, resulting in low enrollments of girls. Additionally, some parents have low aspirations for girls' educational and career attainment (Kirk, 2006; Stromquist, 1989; Jatoi 1991). Haugen et al. (2014) shows that the presence of female teachers in rural areas "increased girls' enrolment but did not appear to affect boys' enrolment" (p. 758). In addition to formal education through regular schooling, non-formal education in the form of distance learning programs has increased educational access, especially in rural Pakistan (Bukhsh, 2007). Prospective teachers in rural areas without teacher training colleges get enrolled in the distance learning programs to attain their teacher certifications.

Pakistan's Teacher Education System and Reforms

Pakistan has a diverse and complex teacher education system with multiple providers, different governance structures and lack of uniformity in teacher preparation and recruitment across provinces. Pakistan's National Education Policy (2009) aims to improve quality of teachers and has enhanced the minimum entry requirements for teachers:

> A Bachelor's degree, with a B.Ed., shall be the requirement for teaching at the elementary level. Masters Level for the secondary and higher secondary, with a B.Ed., shall be ensured by 2018. PTC [Primary Teacher Certificate] and CT [Certificate for Teaching] shall be phased out through encouraging the present set of teachers to

> improve their qualifications, while new hiring shall be based on the advanced criteria. Exceptions [mostly in remote and tribal areas] shall be made in case of less developed areas where teachers with relevant qualifications are not available. (Government of Pakistan, 2009a, p. 42)

The National Education Policy 2009 as well as standards for teachers (Government of Pakistan, 2009b) and standards for teacher education programs (NACTE, 2009) have been developed at the national level, but teacher recruitment policy and rules are the responsibility of provincial governments in Pakistan. Teacher recruitment rules vary from province to province and public sector recruitment of teachers is plagued with issues of political interference, corruption and nepotism (Saeed et al., 2013, p. 169). Most of the provinces/areas of Pakistan hire elementary level teachers with a minimum of 12 years of schooling and 1 year of professional preparation, while secondary level teachers tend to be hired with a minimum of 14 years of schooling with 1 year of professional preparation. With recent national policy guidelines and introduction of new teacher education programs, provincial governments were planning to increase minimum entry requirements for teachers by 2018 and also increase the status of teachers by enhancing teachers' salary pay scales (Department of Education GB, 2012).

In 2009, the Federal Ministry of Education, with support from USAID and UNESCO, published ten "professional standards for teachers in Pakistan" and these standards along with other policy documents guide recent reforms in preservice as

well as inservice teacher education. The ten standards for teachers, according to Government of Pakistan (2009b, p. 9) are:

- Subject matter knowledge;
- Human growth and development;
- Knowledge of Islamic ethical values/social life skills;
- Instructional planning and strategies;
- Assessment;
- Learning environment;
- Effective communication and proficient use of information communication technologies;
- Collaboration and partnerships;
- Continuous professional development and code of conduct; and
- Teaching of English as second/foreign language (ESL/EFL).

A professional standard is composed of three parts: knowledge and understanding (what a teacher should know); dispositions (behavior, attitude and values); and performance/skills (what teacher should be able to do).

Another important set of standards developed by the Higher Education Commission (HEC) of the Government of Pakistan are the "Standards for Accreditation of Teacher Education Programs" (NACTE, 2009) to be implemented by HEC's National Accreditation Council for Teacher Education (NACTE). Although teacher training institutions are encouraged to get their teacher education programs accredited with NACTE, accreditation is not mandatory. NACTE's (2009) seven standards for accreditation of teacher education programs address the broad categories of:

- curriculum and instruction;
- assessment and evaluation system;
- physical infrastructure, academic facilities and learning resources;
- human resources;
- finance and management;
- research and scholarship; and
- community links and outreach.

Governance and Management

The governance and institutional structure in higher education was inherited from colonial British India; training programs persist which are based on models developed by the former colonial power (Davies and Iqbal, 1997). Nevertheless, the impact of "globalization" and "internationalization" of higher education is evident in Pakistan where neoliberal, free-market policies are becoming dominant in higher education. Public sector universities are gradually increasing tuition fees, using heteronomous models, hiring more part-time faculty, engaging in bureaucratic decision-making and using business/corporate models of management (Altbach, 2004), which result in inequalities among many other negative effects. Furthermore, while until 1980, all universities were public (i.e., government funded and managed), the last two decades have seen rapid growth of private universities in urban centers. For instance, as of 2018, there were 75 private universities/degree awarding institutions out of total 185 universities (approximately 40% universities are private), and majority of faculty in public universities are part-time faculty (Government of Pakistan, 2018).

The quality and standard of education in the majority of private institutions (with few exceptions) are extremely poor (Higher Education Commission, 2016). The quality of education in government universities and colleges is mixed with high quality education in few high-ranking universities in major urban centers but low-quality education in most of the colleges in rural or semi-urban areas.

Teacher Training Institutions and Enrolments

The colleges and universities offering teacher education programs (preservice and/or inservice) are called teacher training institutions (TTIs). Table 4 shows data of TTIs in Pakistan.

Table 4

Number of Teacher Training Institutions (Public and Private)

Sector	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2016-17
Public	155	153	154	157
Private	34	41	47	56
Total	189	194	201	213

Note. Data sources are Government of Pakistan (2015, 2018).

The above data clearly show an increase in the number of private teacher training institutions from 34 in 2011 to 56 in 2016-17, while the number of public TTIs basically remained nearly constant with only two additional TTIs 2011-12 and 2016-17. A detailed analysis of TTIs reveal regional disparities as there are no private TTIs in the under-developed and remote provinces of Balochistan, FATA and Gilgit-Baltistan (GB). Remote area populations are deprived of access to teacher education

colleges, because neither government nor private colleges are available in rural areas. This uneven distribution of TTIs restrict rural populations, especially women who tend to have limited geographical mobility, to access higher education, this is one reason that there is shortage of female teachers. This shortage of female teachers can be evidenced in Table 5, which shows the extremely low female enrolment compared to male enrolment in TTIs.

Table 5

Enrolment in Teacher Training Institutions (Public and Private)

Sector	2013-14			2016-17		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Public	477051	239842	716893	478261	240491	718752
Private	2806	2295	5101	2915	2383	5298
Total	479857	242137	721994	481176	242874	724050

Note: Data sources are Government of Pakistan (2015, 2018) and AIOU (n.d.)

AIOU through distance learning teacher education programs enroll over 400,000 students on average every year (AIOU, n.d.). With over 55% of the total enrollment in Pakistan, AIOU is the largest provider of teacher education in the country. The role of AIOU is significant particularly for teachers living in remote and rural areas of Pakistan, where very few or no TTIs exist. Data in table 5 show a higher percentage of male (vs female) students enrolled in public institutions. Also, the percentage of students in private institutions is much smaller than the percentage of private institutions, thus indicating the private institutions, on average, have smaller enrollments.

Financing of Teacher Education

The education colleges are financed by provincial government, while universities as autonomous bodies generate their own revenues besides funding from national government through the Higher Education Commission. Universities charge higher tuition fees and colleges charge lower fees, attracting those students who cannot afford university fees.

Pakistan's low budgetary allocation of 2% of GDP for the education sector is a constraint that affects all subsectors within education, including teacher education. The cost of teacher training in Pakistan is very high; according to Davies and Iqbal (1997), the unit cost of teacher training in Pakistan in the mid-1990s was 25.5 times higher than training a secondary school student, which is more than three times higher than global average of 7.6 times. A research study by Academy for Educational Development (AED) (2005) found a wide variation in unit costs of teaching Primary Teacher Certificate (PTC)/Certificate for Teaching (CT) courses in education colleges, ranging between Rs. 15,000 (US$150) to Rs. 110,000 (US$1100). It is estimated that non-salary budget in education colleges range from merely 1% to 40%, and this huge disparity in financing colleges means that some colleges have nearly no funds for any teaching and learning materials or maintenance of college facilities. In 2009, the USAID funded Pre-Service Teacher Education Program (Pre-STEP) conducted a survey of 12 universities and 39 colleges and revealed that 60% of college classrooms had insufficient teaching and learning materials, poor furniture and poor condition of laboratories and libraries (Pre-STEP/USAID, 2010).

Most of donor-funded projects have not been able to fill the funding gaps and have not provided direct budgetary support to government. Instead, the projects provided technical assistance or soft component activities with little or no funding for improving physical spaces in colleges and universities. One exception is Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) debt-swap for education project. This project funded the national government directly through budgetary support and provided much needed furniture, equipment as well as repaired classrooms in teacher training colleges, besides funding inservice training for teachers in rural areas of Pakistan.

Teacher Educators and Instructional Methods

Teacher educators or faculty are one of the most crucial inputs in teacher education system. A survey of 160 faculty in teacher education programs in 14 public universities found that only 25% of the faculty have a PhD and the majority of teacher educators use lecture method to train student teachers (USAID/Pre-STEP, 2009). Davies and Iqbal (1997) argue that trained teachers tend to teach as they were taught, so teacher educators' instructional methods are likely to be reproduced by the programs' graduates when they become employed as school teachers, especially since these instructional methods in the teacher training program likely reinforced the instructional methods they had encountered when they were school students.

Pathways into Teaching/Teacher Education Programs

There are several routes to enter teaching profession and a variety of teacher education programs are offered by universities and colleges as shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Preservice Teacher Education Programs in Pakistan

Teacher Education Programs	Entry Requirement	Duration of Program	Institution Offering the Program	Eligible for teaching level
M.Ed.	M.A. (16 years) or B.Ed.	1 year	Universities	Secondary level
M.A. Education	B.A. (14 years)	2 years	Universities	Secondary level
B.Ed. (Honours) Elementary	12 years schooling	4 years	Universities & Colleges	Elementary Level (Grade 1-8)
B.Ed.	B.A.	1 year	Universities & Colleges	Secondary level (Grade 1-8)
Associate Degree in Education (ADE)	12 years schooling	2 years	Colleges	Elementary Level (Grade 1-8)
Diploma in Education	12 years schooling	18 months	Colleges	Elementary Level (Grade 1-8)
Certificate for Teaching (CT)	12 years schooling	1 year	Colleges	Elementary Level (Grade 1-8)
Primary Teacher Certificate (PTC)	10 years schooling	1 year	Colleges	Primary level (Grade 1-5). Almost all provinces have phased out PTC

Note. Data compiled from Department of Education GB (2012) and Pre-STEP/USAID (2010).

The short duration, narrow scope of curriculum with less emphasis on practicum were key issues in most of the programs. Hence, in 2009 the Ministry of Education and HEC, with support from USAID funded Pre-STEP, launched two new degree programs known as Associate Degree in Education (ADE) and B.Ed. (Hons.) in 15 universities and 75 colleges all over Pakistan (Pre-STEP/USAID, 2010; Higher

Education Commission, 2012). Michigan State University (MSU) – and, later, Teachers College of Columbia University – through USAID funded Pre-STEP provided technical assistance to HEC for developing curriculum, syllabi and course guidelines. A number of university and college faculty members from Pakistan were directly involved throughout the process leading to implementation of new ADE and B.Ed. (Hons.) programs. These two new programs have gained some ownership from teacher training institutions, according to an evaluation study of Pre-STEP (Fazal et al., 2014).

Moreover, there is weak connection between preservice teacher education programs and inservice teacher training. The curriculum and materials are not linked and there is absence of any coordination mechanisms between institutions which offer preservice programs and institutions which offer inservice training. In most of the provinces of Pakistan, inservice teacher training is donor-drive, ad-hoc, and training opportunities are unevenly distributed (Durrani et al., 2017), which exacerbates the problem of coordination.

Conclusion

The SDG 4 calls for inclusive and equitable education for all (United Nations, 2015) and this ambitious goal cannot be accomplished without focusing on marginalized and disadvantage children and youth, including persons with disabilities, indigenous tribes, girls, refugees and the poor in rural areas. Pakistan has the second highest number of out-of-school children in the world and the learning crisis is severe. In addition, equity issues are serious since disparities are wide, based on gender, location (rural-urban) and socioeconomic status. In Pakistan, there is still

opportunity to expand educational access and improve quality, but the distribution of trained teachers is uneven, and:

> Many children are still out of school and those that do gain access find themselves in classrooms with, on average, one teacher for every 47 pupils. To accommodate all children by 2030, Pakistan must raise its [teacher] recruitment rate to almost 6% per year. (UIS, 2016, p. 7)

The shortage of teachers can be addressed by greater investments in teachers and teacher education by both state and non-state actors. Teacher education is essential to prepare teachers for the new challenging tasks of child's/youth's holistic development as well as teacher professional growth.

Literature shows that "when the goal is to increase students' learning and to improve their performance, the professional development of teachers should be considered a key factor, and this … must feature as an element in a larger reform" (Villegas-Reimers, 2003, p. 29). Teachers in many areas are interested in their professional training and growth. A research study of 1,400 practicing teachers in Pakistan found that 88 percent wanted to participate in bridging/upgrading programs to improve their qualifications (Higher Education Commission, 2013). Hence, teacher preparation and recruitment, especially in disadvantaged areas, need to be central in education research, policy and reforms.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins by listing my research questions. It then presents philosophical approaches, including epistemological and ontological approaches, which inform my research. The last section of this chapter explains the research design.

This research study aimed to study teacher preparation and different pathways into teaching, how they were recruited into their current (and previous) positions in rural and remote mountain societies of Northern Pakistan. My research questions are:

1. What are the pathways into teaching in different types of rural primary and middle schools (public, private and community schools) for female and male teachers?
2. How do female and male rural primary teachers perceive the relevance and impact of their apprenticeship of observation, preservice and inservice teacher education for their classroom practices?
    - In what types of teacher education or professional development experiences (both formal and informal) have these rural teachers participated?
    - Which experiences do they perceive as most influential (positively and negatively) in shaping their practice?

A Qualitative Research: Philosophical Approaches and Frameworks

Ontological Approach

Ontology focuses on the philosophical assumptions regarding the nature of reality. In qualitative research, we study different perspectives and there are multiple realities in the world. In my research, I study rural teachers' perceptions and lived

experiences. Therefore, as a qualitative researcher my ontological approach is to report multiple realities using various forms of evidence (Creswell, 2013).

Epistemological Approach

Epistemological assumptions relate to the question of what counts as knowledge and how knowledge claims are justified? Creswell (2013) suggests that while conducting a qualitative study, "researchers try to get as close as possible to the participants being studied. Therefore, subjective evidence is assembled based on individual views. This is how knowledge is known—through the subjective experiences of people" (p. 20).

Qualitative research helps us to understand and explain the meaning of the phenomenon from the participants' perspectives and the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis (Merriam, 1998).

Theoretical/Interpretive Frameworks

In my qualitative research, I believe reality as multiple, contextual and socially constructed by the participants of study. My study is informed primarily by constructivism. Chapter 2 presented the theories that inform my study; nevertheless, in next section I discus how the main theories inform my research methodology.

Constructivism

The participants in my case study are rural teachers who construct their perceptions and subjective meanings socially and historically. I am interested in understanding and interpreting the meaning teachers have constructed in their world and the constructivist worldview helped me in this context. Creswell (2013) states that:

> In social constructivism, individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences-meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrow the meanings into a few categories or ideas. (p. 24)

In my research, I look at the diverse cultural contexts and how teachers are prepared for teaching children in remote and rural areas. Also, the issues related to languages of children, teachers and medium of instruction are explored within the broader context of cultural relevant of teacher training.

An important consideration in research drawing on constructivism is the relationship between researcher and participants. In this regard, I follow Mertens' (2010) suggestion of a collaborative and interactive relationship as everyone brings their experiences, perceptions and values to the interactions.

Conceptual Framework

In this study I use the "occupational choice theory" and "continuum of teacher learning" as my conceptual framework, as discussed in chapter 2. In order to examine recruitment of teachers for teaching positions in their current and previous schools, I utilize occupational choice theory. My interview questions explored factors influencing teachers' career decisions, such as salary, working conditions and recruitment process.

I explored my second research question by utilizing the four main phases of teacher learning along this continuum:1) the apprenticeship of observation; 2) preservice education; 3) induction; and 4) inservice training.

Both occupational choice theory and continuum of teacher learning helped in framing semi-structured interview questions for data collection and provided a basis for developing themes and sub-themes during data analysis.

Case Study Research Design

A case study is a preferred strategy to answer "how" and "why" questions and when research focuses on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 2003). The case study, as defined by Yin (2003), is an empirical inquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). And, Merriam (1998) states: "A case study design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning of those involved. The interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation" (p. 19). Moreover, Mertens (2015) explains: "A case may be based on any number of units of analysis: an individual, a group of individuals, a classroom, a school, or an event…" (p. 245). A case study may focus on a single or multiple-cases and there can be multiple units within a case. Multiple-case studies aim to provide not only detailed narratives and description of each case but also categorize findings across cases into themes, which help in exploring differences within and between cases (Yin, 2003).

A common concern about case studies is that they lack basis for scientific generalization, but some researchers see qualitative research as transferable if not generalizable. Yin's (2003) posits that the "case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes" (p. 10). Likewise, Stake (1995) argues that the intrinsic interest in each case is important and the uniqueness of a given case should not be undermined by only trying to find similarities with other cases.

Case study design is useful to study disempowered groups and equity issues by paying special attention to historical context and many dimensions of the issue (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011).

Since my study focuses on teachers of marginalized children in different types of schools (public, community managed and private), the case study approach is one of the most relevant strategies. The multiple-case study method is suitable to answer my research questions as I explore teachers' perceptions and experiences in preparation and entry into teaching careers in different types of schools in a rural and remote context.

I selected one school from each type of school (public, community managed, and private) in a rural village and interviewed teachers in the selected schools. Each teacher is a case and the schools were mainly work sites where teachers were interviewed. The proposed research sites, participants, data collection and analysis are described in the next section.

Site Selection and Rationale

I selected the province of Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) in Northern Pakistan, and the rationale for site selection is briefly explained in this section. The context for my study is Pakistan as a developing country, and rural and remote mountain communities where children are marginalized due to socioeconomic status, location, gender and ethnicity. The province of GB provides an interesting and relevant context for investigating my research questions. This rationale is supported by a comparative analysis of statistical data of the selected country (Pakistan) and the selected province of GB. Research site (Gilgit-Baltistan) is highlighted in the map of Pakistan in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Map of Pakistan and Gilgit-Baltistan

Note. Map adapted from Google Maps (Google, 2020).

Pakistan, with a population of 220 million people (in 2020), ranks 152 out of 189 countries on Human Development Index (UNDP, 2019) and considered a lower-middle income country with per capita income of US$ 1,482 in 2018. In recent years, the country has been facing security challenges from militant groups. Notably, the Taliban have bombed and attacked schools and universities in Pakistan, killing hundreds of innocent school children and teachers.

Educational access, equity and quality remain major challenges in Pakistan. While Adjusted Net Enrolment Ratio (ANER) at primary level is 77%, it drops to 32% at secondary level (Government of Pakistan, 2017). According to the Pakistan Education Statistics 2015-16 (Government of Pakistan, 2017), the education system of Pakistan is comprised of 303,446 institutions with enrolment of 47.5 million students and 1.7 million teachers. The private sector institutions are 37% but they enroll 42% of the total number of students and employ 48% of the total number of teachers. The rapid expansion of private sector is a result of neoliberal policies, globalization and poor governance, among other factors.

Teacher quality, shortage and training remain key challenges. At the national level, there are more female teachers than male teachers. The proportion of female teachers was 53% at the primary level, 72% at the middle level and 60% at the high/higher secondary level (Government of Pakistan, 2018, p. 9). However, the disaggregated data reveal wide inequalities between and within provinces. For example, in the province of GB, only 30% of the teachers in public primary schools in rural areas are female, as compared to 75% of the teachers in urban public primary schools (Government of Pakistan, 2017). Also, the role of family is crucial in

decisions about girls' education and career and, in some cases, parents have low aspirations for girls' career and field of study (Kirk, 2006; Stromquist, 1989; Jatoi, 1991), though parents may be more inclined to send their girls to school if the teacher is female (Kirk, 2006).

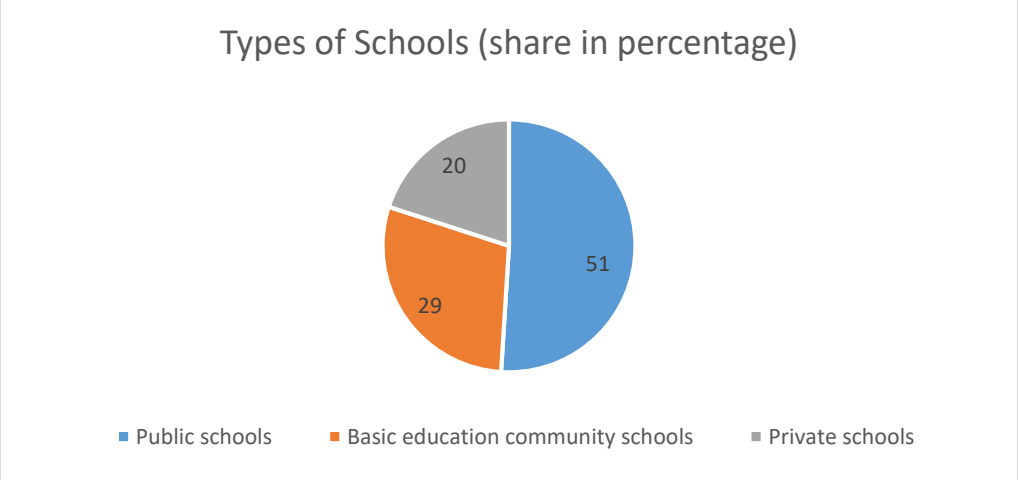
Types of Schools Selected

In this study, I interviewed teachers at all the four schools functional in the remote village (I use "Mountain Village" as pseudonyms for the selected village). The four schools in Mountain Village were categorized as public schools (two separate schools for boys and girls), basic education community school, and private school. Each teacher interviewed in this multiple-case study is a case and the schools were mainly work sites where teachers were interviewed.

In the province of GB, the three main types of schools as categorized by the Education Department GB are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3

School Types and Share in Total Schools in GB



Note. Data source is Department of Education, GB (2014)

Government or Public Schools

In GB, 51% of schools are government schools, meaning that they are funded primarily by [national/provincial] government budgetary allocations and they are managed by principals/head teachers who are appointed and report to district/provincial government education officials. Although a parent teacher association or a school management committee (SMC) is officially notified, in most public schools, the SMCs are either non-functional or play a limited role in school management. Their share of enrollment is 53% (Department of Education GB, 2014). Government schools are considered to be free in that they do not have tuition fees, but students need to pay for non-tuition expenses, including for textbooks, uniforms, transportation, etc. Teachers in government schools have permanent jobs and, with pay raise and promotions, they earn more salary compared to teachers in all other types of schools in GB province. Rural government schools face a shortage of teachers, especially female teachers, and multigrade teaching is common. Most of the government schools have a building but maintenance remains an issue as the education budget is almost exclusively utilized for teacher salary, leaving almost no funding for teaching and learning materials, let alone maintenance of facilities and classroom furniture.

In Mountain Village, there were two government schools separate for boys and girls — a primary school for boys, and a middle school for girls — and I interviewed teachers from both schools. Beyond primary school, boys had to walk to a neighboring village to access a tuition-free government middle and high school for boys, while girls had to go to a neighboring village to access a high school for girls.

Basic Education Community Schools (BESCS)

In GB, 29% of the schools are community schools, while their share of enrollment is 16% (Department of Education GB, 2014). The total number of Basic Education Community Schools (BECS) is 543. The BECS were established initially in late 1990s under Pakistan's Social Action Program (SAP). These schools are commonly known as SAP schools or community schools. They were established with the objective of increasing girls' enrolment and promoting community participation in school management. The Northern Education Project (NEP) 1998-2003, a project funded by the Government of Pakistan, World Bank and Britain's Department for International Development (DfID) helped local communities in constructing the buildings of 382 community schools[1] and established an endowment fund of Rs. 100,000 (Approx. USD 2,000) for each school. The central feature of a community school is the leading role played by Village Education Committees, which manage the school, teachers and finances. Girls' enrollment increased because parents of girls felt comfortable sending their daughters to new community schools staffed predominately by females from the local area, among other reasons (Shafa, 2011).

Although community schools provided access to girls in rural areas, recent studies show that the quality of education appears to be the lowest among all categories of schools (Shafa, 2011). Teachers' status and motivation is low, and a monthly salary of Rs. 9,000 (USD 65) is lower than even the official minimum wage for unskilled labor. Currently, teachers' salaries are paid by the Federal Government's

[1] Schools with low enrollment did not get any project funds for school construction, hence the number of schools constructed was lower than the total number of community schools.

National Education Foundation (NEF) but often delayed for a year. Hence, the teachers of these community schools have held strikes demanding a pay raise, timely payment of salaries and regularization of jobs, but their demands remain unaddressed for the previous two decades (Mir, 2011, November 30). BECS continue to be free schools for students and no tuition fee is charged.

There was one BECS at primary level for girls in the selected village and I interviewed two teachers from the school.

Private Schools

Private schools are rapidly expanding in GB as in the rest of Pakistan. It is estimated that 20% of schools in GB are privately owned and managed, and private schools' enrollment share is 31% in GB (Department of Education GB, 2014). There are different types of private schools, which may be grouped in three categories. First, elite private schools which are considered highest quality schools and charge high tuition fees, attracting students from more prosperous families. The elite private schools are located in major cities and towns only; therefore, there was no elite private school in Mountain Village. Second, non-profit private schools which are located in both rural and urban areas. This category may include schools operated by non-profit private foundations and mosque schools, both of which charge moderate tuition fees for most of their students. Third, low cost for-profit private schools which are rapidly expanding in both rural and urban areas. There is no government policy that requires private schools to enroll a certain percent of students from poor families.

There was one private middle school for girls and boys at Mountain Village, and I interviewed two teachers from that school. The selected private school was

functioning as a non- profit organization and managed by the community through a School Management Committee.

Overall, I selected all the four schools from the three categories of schools as there were two government schools in the village – a primary school for boys and a middle school for girls. A detailed description of the four selected schools and local context is explained in the next chapter.

Selection of Participants

The participants were selected using purposive sampling methods. In the selected schools, all the teachers were invited for interviews and only those who volunteered were selected for interview. The following criteria were used as a guide for the selection of teachers as participants for this study:

- Teacher in a rural primary and middle school
- Willingness to participate voluntarily in the study
- At least one third of total participants overall be female teachers

I followed Creswell's (2013) suggestion of keeping sample size small for in-depth case studies. A total of 12 teachers including seven male and five female teachers participated voluntarily in the study. The average age of participant teachers was 37 years, but male participant teachers' average age was much higher at 43 years compared to female teachers' average age of 28 years. Table 7 presents the number of participants interviewed in the four school at the selected village.

Table 7

Number of Teachers Interviewed from Four Schools

School Name	Teachers (in numbers)		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Government Boys' Primary School (GBPS)	3	0	**3**
Government Girls' Middle School (GGMS)	2	3	**5**
Basic Education Girls' Community School (BECS)	0	2	**2**
Private Middle School (PMS)	2	0	**2**
Total	**7**	**5**	**12**

Data Collection and Analysis

I used multiple sources of data. The notes from interviews of participants were the primary source of data. In addition, literature and documents were reviewed as other sources of data. The document review included relevant published materials, government reports, and materials from the teacher education providers.

The process of data collection began with consultation with provincial and district level officials of the Department of Education (DoE) to finalize the selection of sites, followed by seeking permissions and informing schools about the purpose, nature, and schedule of the research.

I then travelled to Pakistan for my field work in March 2019 for one month. I spent two weeks at the schools conducting interviews, while two weeks were spent in domestic travel to reach the remote village. I used a semi-structured interview protocol (see Appendix A) to guide interview discussions. On average, interviews of male teachers were conducted in two sessions (each session of one hour), while interviews of female teachers were conducted in single sessions of an average of one

hour. The local customs there don't allow female to interact alone with outsiders; therefore, a female research assistant was present during interviews for all female teachers and GBPS teachers. I followed the University of Maryland's Internal Review Board (IRB) procedure approved for this study. Participants indicated by saying yes (Oral Consent) that they voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. The consent form was translated verbally to the local language, Shina, during my introductory meetings with the teachers and copies of consent forms in English were provided to the teachers. All interviews were conducted in the local language, Shina. I translated and transcribed audiotaped interviews from Shina directly into English.

Data Analysis

The participants in this study were teachers from the four schools. While analyzing data, I kept the analysis process as a continuous process with coding, developing themes, and conducting within-case and cross-case analyses. I maintained a detailed log of all events and discussions in my field notebook. I listened to all the audio-taped interviews at least twice while transcribing and analyzing to ensure that I properly understood and documented all important points. I conducted several rounds of coding, as recommended for qualitative research (Saldana, 2015). I used both inductive and deductive coding. As a deductive method, I used theories guiding this research (occupational choice theory and continuum of teacher learning) to develop themes/sub-themes and expanded it by adding further themes/sub-themes after analyzing interview data (inductive method). All coding was manual, using an Excel sheet.

The analysis of multiple cases, as suggested by Creswell (2013), involves "a detailed description of each case and themes within each of the case, called within-case analysis, followed by a thematic analysis across the cases, called a cross-case analysis, as well as assertions or an interpretation of the meaning of the case" (p. 101). Since the case study research site is characterized by wide gender disparities, my data analysis attempted to explore similarities and differences between schools as well as the similarities and differences between female and male teachers. Any outliers in data are discussed in chapter 6 and chapter 7, to ensure inclusion of important observations and teachers' perceptions.

Validity. Validity, according to Maxwell (2013), is "the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account" (p. 122). My research methods rely on multiple strategies to improve validity of my data and findings. One of these strategies is triangulation, which means using multiple sources of information for verification.

Since the data are primarily based on participants' perceptions and views, not all the information collected can be independently verified, as in some cases only the participants know the credibility of data. In order to improve credibility of data, I used member check during the interviews by restating the key information provided by the participants and reconfirming accuracy of the data. Given the constraints (there was no internet and email at the village) and limited time in the field, I was unable to conduct member check after the interviews, hence interview transcripts/findings were not shared with the participants.

In addition, I listened to all the audio tapes at least twice, rechecked my interview transcripts, field notes and other documents to ensure that I have recorded and understood participants' perceptions correctly

Researcher bias can be one of the threats to validity and, therefore, I spent more time with participants – both during the interviews (on average two hours with male teachers and one hour with female teachers) as well as holding informal meetings in staff room and lunch breaks. In addition, I conducted several rounds of coding (Saldana, 2015) to minimize researcher bias in selection of themes.

Even though I used multiple strategies to improve validity, the generalizability of this study to the larger population of teachers in GB and Pakistan remains limited because this study is an in-depth study of teachers in a specific context which may not necessarily be generalizable. However, the findings of this study are likely to be relevant and informative for people in similar contexts in other parts of rural Pakistan and other developing countries.

Research Ethics

In order to ensure confidentiality, I used pseudonyms for sites and the participants. Participation in the study was voluntary, and teachers were recruited as participants only if they indicated their willingness to participate in the study by agreeing verbally on the informed consent forms. My field work notebooks and interview notes were transferred into electronic files and all papers will be destroyed after the completion of this dissertation, as per IRB guidelines. I made sure that all types of data are stored in password protected files and safely secured on my laptop (with a backup file on an external disk).

My field visits began in March 2019 only after I have obtained approvals from my committee and the University of Maryland's Internal Review Board (IRB). Also, I sent a letter for official permission to DoE of Pakistan and talked to the Director and Deputy Director of Education telephonically. Considering the local culture in terms of the ethics of reciprocity, I provided some assistance to the schools by purchasing school supplies/teaching materials.

Role as a Researcher and my Reflexivity

I am a local researcher from remote areas of GB and this background helped me in accessing the schools and interviewing teachers and building rapport. On the other side, being a local researcher can bring researcher bias during different stages of research. In order to minimize these biases, I got feedback from government officials as well as other expert researchers and my academic advisor. Hence, the site and participant selection were finalized in consultation with the DoE officials and expert researchers. Acknowledging my background experiences in the region was another strategy. Also, I understand that the fact that I have lived in Islamabad, worked on international organization projects, and have been pursuing a doctoral degree in the U.S. make me different from others in this context, even though I am originally from the area. My background as educational development practitioner and new researcher is briefly explained.

I was born in a remote mountainous village in Northern Pakistan at a time when there was no medical facility and no high school in my village. I was fortunate enough to travel outside my province and access higher education in cities of Pakistan and abroad. I completed BBA and MBA in Pakistan, and I completed MA in

International Development in the UK. Part-time jobs, merit scholarships and a graduate assistantship enabled me to continue my education and finally pursue my research interest through the PhD program at the University of Maryland. I have over twelve years of development work experience in the thematic areas of basic education, teacher education and education policy, including the USAID-funded Pakistan Reading Project and Pre-STEP Project referenced above. As a former staff member of the UN and international NGOs, I have worked closely with local communities, teachers and Ministry of Education officials on education policy, reforms and research. Implementation of various projects funded by USAID, DFID and the UN in challenging situations (I have worked in Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan) also gave me a unique opportunity to learn about and contribute to the broader field of education development.

As a result of these formative experiences, I developed an interest in studying the complex and contested field of comparative and international education with a focus on teacher education. As a PhD student, I have been enhancing my understanding and knowledge of education policy and research, and my learning experiences have been transformative. The questions I explore in my research were those provoked through my first-hand field experiences as well as more recently through PhD course work.

I have selected qualitative case study methods for my research on different pathways into teaching in rural areas and consider these methods to be flexible and a continuous process. Therefore, I continuously refined my research methods, based on

field experiences, new learning and feedback from my advisor and dissertation committee members.

My knowledge of local languages (I speak 6 languages, including 3 Pakistani local languages), my respect for local cultures and my field connections, which I have developed over several years, helped me in collecting data from the field.

The findings from my proposed research will be useful and relevant for future research and development in similar remote, mountainous areas of the province, nation, and region. In addition, I hope that my research will be useful for local governments, teacher associations and civil society organizations working on teacher recruitment policy and teacher education programs in Pakistan and similar countries.

Conclusion

My research study utilizes qualitative research methods and a multiple-case study design. Considering the gaps in existing research, my study focuses different pathways into teaching in three different types of schools (public, community-managed, and private). In addition to semi-structure interviews, I used document review, including empirical studies and official reports, as multiple sources of data. The data analysis and writing followed standard protocols of qualitative research. Lastly, I sought to ensure research ethics and respect for participants and local norms were ensured throughout the research.

A limitation of qualitative case studies is generalizability, and this might be a limitation in my research due to context specific findings. Nevertheless, I expect that this research will make a significant addition to our existing knowledge about an under-researched area in rural Pakistan. Moreover, my research will be useful for

local teachers, teacher associations, governments and civil society organizations working on teacher policy, preparation and recruitments in Pakistan and other developing countries.

CHAPTER 5: THE MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY AND SCHOOLING CONTEXT

Understanding the complex context of the selected village as "Mountain Village" is necessary for contextualizing teachers' work and lives in the mountain areas of Pakistan. This chapter provides a description of the rural community and the schools where I conducted field research. In addition, the research participants are briefly described in this chapter, while discussion on the participants' interviews is provided in the next chapters, as individual cases.

Remote Mountains and the Local Community

Geopolitical Context

Mountain Village is located in Pakistan's northern region of Gilgit-Baltistan. The northern mountainous region of Pakistan was known as Federally Administered Northern Areas (FANA) until 2009, when the Government of Pakistan issued an order renaming FANA as Gilgit-Baltistan. In recent times, more administrative powers have been devolved to a provincially elected assembly, but the Federal Government still administers the region directly through Federal Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit-Baltistan. The constitutional status of the region remains unclear and contested. The Government of Pakistan has been reluctant to include the region as a constitutional province of Pakistan as the government considers the region's status linked to the broader issue of Jammu and Kashmir, which is disputed between Pakistan and India. Most of the local political parties present a different narrative of their history and contend that the region has its own identity separate from Kashmir and the Government of Pakistan should consider it as a constitutional province with

equal citizenship rights, similar to other provinces of Pakistan. People of Gilgit-Baltistan do not have political representation in Pakistan's national assembly and local political parties have been demanding the fulfillment of basic rights, including national voting rights.

Historically, the region has been an important part of the ancient silk route and the archaeological sites date back seven thousand years. It is the region where four great mountain ranges of the world meet – the Karakoram, the Himalaya, the Pamirs and the Hindukush mountain ranges. The region has remained a strategically important place with high mountain passes connecting South Asia with China, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the British and Russian Empires were in confrontation politically to influence and control territories in Central Asia, including the areas in present day northern Pakistan. As a result of the great game, several independent small states of northern Pakistan were colonized as part of British India. These remote areas were among the last regions colonialized by British forces in India. The princely states of Hunza and Nagar lost the war against British forces in 1891, while Chitral was colonized in 1895. The mountain areas of northern Pakistan including the village selected for this research study were among the farthest and remotest north western frontiers of Indian sub-continent under the British colonial rule.

After the end of British colonial rule in 1947, the local people rebelled and Gilgit gained independence from the state of Jammu and Kashmir on November 1, 1947. Gilgit was declared an independent country on November 1, 1947, but after two weeks Gilgit came under the direct control of the Government of Pakistan with the

appointment of the first political agent in Gilgit. The neighboring princely states of Hunza and Nagar signed accessions with Pakistan and remained princely states until 1974, when the Government of Pakistan abolished small states and made them part of the Federally Administered Northern Areas (Bangash, 2010). Political changes in northern Pakistan continued with a new locally elected legislative council and devolution of powers to local levels, but the region remained under the administrative control of the Federal Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.

Soon after these political changes, the construction of Karakoram Highway in 1979 initiated a new era of development. Mountain areas of northern Pakistan remained isolated due to difficult terrain, rugged mountains and lack of all-weather roads, until the opening of Karakoram Highway in 1979. Constructing a highway through high mountains reaching elevations up to 4,700 meters was an extraordinary accomplishment for both China and Pakistan. About 810 Pakistani and 200 Chinese workers lost their lives during the road construction work over two decades. The 1,300 km long Karakoram Highway is the only overland link between China and Pakistan, connecting China's Xinjian region with Pakistan's Gilgit-Baltistan, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab provinces. The highway is considered a symbol of Pakistan-China friendship. Recently, the highway is being upgraded and reconstructed as part of China's flagship initiative "Belt and Road Initiative."

With a population of approximately 2 million people, Gilgit-Baltistan is a thinly populated region spread over a mountainous terrain of 72,496 square kilometers. Population density is only 28 persons per square kilometer in Gilgit-Baltistan compared to the national population density of 270 persons per square kilometer. An estimated

one percent of the area is used for agriculture, while the remaining 99 percent area consists of mountains, glaciers, ravines, meadows and plateaus rich in flora and fauna. The region has one of the largest glaciers on earth outside the polar regions and there are more than 50 peaks above 7,000-meter-high – one of the highest concentrations of high peaks on earth, including 8611 meters high K2, the second highest peak in the world. With improved road infrastructure, the number of mountaineers and tourists visiting Gilgit-Baltistan is rapidly increasing.

Pakistan's forested area covers less than 5 percent and the natural forests – mostly in northern Pakistan – are depleting at a high rate of 0.75% per year (FAO, 2009). An increased demand of wood for fuel and furniture has resulted in increased rate of deforestation and loss of vegetation on mountains, adversely affecting the mountain eco systems and natural habitat. People in mountain areas rely on solid fuels for their basic energy needs, including cooking and heating. The main sources of solid fuel in the mountain areas include wood, agricultural waste, dung, shrubs and straws. An estimated 85 percent of household members in GB use solid fuels, consisting 81% of wood (UNICEF, 2017). In addition, some of the oldest forests of GB were lost due to illegal logging by timber mafia – a nexus of local influential, timber suppliers and corrupt government officials. Illegal deforestation began after construction of roads and continue despite a government ban on deforestation in 1992, mainly due to mismanagement and involvement of government Forest Department (Ali et al., 2005). Human activity is gradually destroying the natural habitat and the global climate change is disrupting mountain ecosystem and melting GB's glaciers. Consequently, the

frequency and intensity of natural disasters, especially glacier lake outburst floods, has increased, affecting human lives and livelihoods in remote valleys of GB.

Socioeconomic Context

Mountain communities in Pakistan's Gilgit-Baltistan region are characterized by a rich heritage, diverse cultural background with multiethnic groups speaking seven different languages. Most of the people of Gilgit-Baltistan are multilingual. Local languages include Shina, Balti, Burushaski, Khowar, Wakhi, Domaki and Gojri. Urdu is lingua franca and the national language of Pakistan, while English remains the official language of Pakistan. People in northern Pakistan prefer speaking their native languages but most of the languages are spoken languages with no agreed upon written forms. All the school textbooks are available in either Urdu or English and there are no textbooks available in the local languages. All the educational institutions use Urdu or English as official medium of instruction; however, in most of the rural areas, the local languages remain the languages of playground and most of the teachers and students communicate in local languages, especially at the early grade level.

More than 99 percent of GB's population are Muslims from four denominations – Shia *Ithna Ashari* (The Twelvers), Sunni, Shia Ismaili and Nurbakhshi. Shia Muslims are a minority denomination in all provinces of Pakistan except GB. Most of the local communities from different denominations have common heritage, ethnic and linguistic background but follow different interpretations of Islam. Unfortunately, in the last three decades, intolerance and sectarian tensions between some Shia and Sunni communities turned violent in a few incidents (Stöber, 2007; Hunzai, 2013). In recent years the sectarian affiliation has increasingly influenced people's perceptions and

redefined identities in GB. “This for instance means that sectarian identities become more important than identities related to kinship, language or regional belonging, or that affiliation with a particular sect becomes a kind of premise that to a large extent structures social perception and interaction” (Grieser & Sökefeld, 2015, p. 84).

Gilgit-Baltistan is a rural mountain territory. Rural population constitutes 86 percent of the total population, living in hundreds of small villages and settlements in remote mountain valleys. Subsistence agriculture is the primary source of livelihoods in rural areas. In the last three decades, the GB is transforming from a traditional rural area towards modernization and consumerism. Globalization, development, tourism and a rapid expansion in local population is putting pressure on natural resources and resulting in environmental degradation. Socioeconomic development has improved living conditions, but the poverty rates are still high at 43%, though this is approximately the same as the national average of 40% (UNDP et. al, 2016). GB’s GDP per capita income was Rs. 1,319 per month compared to national per capita income of Rs. 1,444 in 2005 (World Bank, 2011, p. 6). Unlike other provinces of Pakistan, where few landlords own land and majority of poor are landless, GB’s agricultural assets ownership rate is high, even though average landholding is low. It is estimated that more than 90 percent of households in GB own agricultural land compared to only 52 percent in other provinces. Likewise, compared to the national average, GB has 30 percent higher ownership rates of cattle, goats, sheep and poultry (World Bank, 2011 p. 8). This is in contrast to the rural areas of mainland Pakistan, where a few landlords own most of the land and employ landless people. Local communities in GB are relatively egalitarian in the sense that over 90 percent

population own agricultural land. However, income and wealth disparities are gradually widening due to population growth and rapid development with increasing non-farm incomes, among other factors.

Teacher Education in Mountain Societies of GB

GB's policy states that all aspiring government school teachers must have a professional teaching certification to be eligible for a teaching positions, although there are no minimum qualifications required for private school or basic education community school teachers. Over a decade ago nearly 300 public and private institutions offered multiple preservice teacher education programs in Pakistan (USAID & UNESCO, 2009). Although there are multiple providers of preservice teacher education in cities, there are no or very few providers in rural districts of GB.

There are different pathways to certifications through a wide variety of preservice teacher education programs, including a certificate in teaching (CT) as well as associate, bachelor and master level degree programs. Since no teacher training institutions are available in rural districts of GB, most of the aspiring teachers in rural areas pursue teacher education through distance learning programs offered by the Allama Iqbal Open University (AIOU), which on average enrolled more than 400,000 student teachers annually in Pakistan overall (AIOU, n.d.). In addition, some teachers pursue teacher education degrees as private candidates, without taking any regular classes from the Karakorum International University (KIU) located in Gilgit city.

Mountain Village – The Selected Village for Field Work

The above background information helps in contextualizing the local community in the selected village as part of GB's mountain area. Mountain Village is

a typical rural traditional village located on a hilltop of a valley. The total population of the village was estimated to be 2,600 in 2017, consisting of an equal number of male and female members, in 362 households (Participant Interview No. 3, March 7, 2019). The village is located one and half hour drive from the nearest town. The first half of the travel is on a paved road but then a narrow unpaved dirt road winding up the hills reaches the village. A view of the dirt road and the valley where Mountain village is located is presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4

A View of the Valley Where Mountain Village is Located

Surrounded by the snow-covered high mountains, forests and grazing pastures, the village has two small settlements divided by a stream, as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5

A View of the Stream Dividing the Village into Two Settlements

This village has breathtaking natural scenery and the community's way of life is traditional, though gradually changing with a fast pace of development. The primary source of livelihoods is agriculture and villagers depend on natural resources, including forests, glacier water and pastures. There are four seasons with pleasant summers but harsh winters with snow fall. Most of the land in the village was still under snow in the month of March, during my field work as shown in Figure 6 picturing a small settlement in Mountain Village.

Figure 6

A View of a Small Settlement in Mountain Village

Overall data availability is weak in GB, with a lack of consistent data trends (World Bank, 2011). Village-level disaggregated data is not officially published for Mountain Village, like other villages. The Department of Education (DoE) publishes annual education statistics, containing data at the province, district and tehsil level only. Disaggregated data are scarce, and it is difficult to find published data at the school and village-level. I was able to collect village-level data from the research participants during the interviews, but it was not possible to cross-check the data due to non-availability of any officially published data for the village.

Schooling in Mountain Village: Description of Schools

In chapter 4, the main categories of schools in GB province were discussed. This section further explains the schooling context with a focus on description of schools in Mountain Village.

Multiple Providers in Mountain Village

Parents across Pakistan, even at low socioeconomic level, seek improved school opportunities for their children and the demand for "quality" education is high. In recent years, there has been a rapid expansion of educational institutions, especially low-cost private schools in rural Pakistan, resulting in multiple providers and increased enrollments (Andrabi et al., 2010). A similar trend was observed in Mountain Village, where multiple schools exist, and enrollment levels have increased.

Nevertheless, according to the teachers I interviewed, there are still significant numbers of out-of-school children, especially girls and children with disabilities. More girls were out of school than boys, and children with disabilities were particularly disadvantaged in the village. In 2017, 103 girls were out of school compared to only 17 boys, and the main reasons for high number of out-of-school children were being overage and having disabilities, according to the interviewee (Participant Interview No 3, March 7, 2019). The village has different types of schools as shown in the Table 8.

Table 8

Different Types of Schools in Mountain Village

Sr. No	Name of School	School Type	Grade level	Tuition fee	Building
1	Government Boys Primary School (GBPS)	Provincial Government	Nursery/Pre-K to Grade 5	Fee free	Government owned separate building
2	Government Girls Middle School (GGMS)	Provincial Government	Nursery/Pre-K to Grade 8		All three schools operate in one combined building. GGMS and BECS operate in morning as a combined school and the private school operates in the afternoon. The government constructed some classrooms while other rooms were constructed by a European donor.
3	Basic Education Community School (BECS)	Community managed under Federal Government	Nursery/Pre-K to Grade 5		
4	Private Middle School (PMS)	Community managed private school	Nursery/Pre-K to Grade 8	Fees charged approx. Rs. 1000 (US$7)	

Note: In GB, most of the middle schools including GGMS, offer classes from Nursery/Pre-K through Grade 8.

A stream and gorge divide the village into two settlements and all the four schools are located on east side. Students from the farthest homes walk around 30-45 minutes to the school. GBPS has a separate building but the remaining three schools operate in one combined building. GGMS and BECS operate in the morning while the private, combined primary and middle school operates in the afternoon, using the same classrooms but a separate office room. Some classes in the school were constructed by

the government, while a European donor funded construction of four classrooms as a donation to the mountain community.

Gender-wise distribution of enrollment in four schools is shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Gender-Wise Enrollment in the Four Schools

Sr. No	School Name	Enrollment (in numbers)			Enrollment (in percentage)	
		Boys	**Girls**	**Total**	**Boys**	**Girls**
1.	Government Boys Primary School (GBPS)	76	0	**76**	100	0
2.	Government Girls Middle School (GGMS)	0	55	**55**	0	100
3.	Basic Education Community School (BECS)	12	139	**151**	8	92
4.	Private Middle School (PMS)	143	90	**233**	61	39
	Total	**231**	**284**	**515**	**45**	**55**

Note. Information collected from participants' interviews. GGMS and BECS combined enrollment is 206 but distributed into middle level (GGMS) and primary (BECS).

Overall, more girls than boys are enrolled in the village schools, even though more girls are out-of-school in the village. A possible explanation is the absence of a government middle school for boys in the village. As a result, boys from poor families have to go to another village to access a government middle school and some might drop out after Grade 5. As per data in table 9, the private middle school's enrollment consists of 61% boys compared to 39% girls, revealing parents' preference to pay a fee and enroll boys more than girls in a private school. This observation was confirmed during one of the interviews when a female teacher reported that she enrolled her son in the private school but enrolled her daughters in the government school. Like other patriarchal societies,

some parents in Mountain Village still give preference to boys in educational opportunities.

Teacher distribution in four schools of Mountain Village are shown in Table 10. Overall, the proportion of male teachers is slightly higher than female teachers, unlike the national and international trends of more female teachers in basic education.

Table 10

Distribution of Male and Female Teachers in Mountain Village

School Name	Teachers (in numbers)			Teachers (in percentage)	
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
Government Boys Primary School (GBPS)	3	0	**3**	100	0
Government Girls Middle School (GGMS)	4	4	**8**	50	50
Basic Education Community School (BECS)	0	5	**5**	0	100
Private Middle School (PMS)	8	4	**12**	67	33
Total	**15**	**13**	**28**	**54**	**46**

Note: Teachers at PMS include 5 teachers from other 3 schools.

The above table shows 12 teachers working at PMS, however, 2 female and 3 male teachers work at PMS on a part-time basis, because these 5 part-time teachers work as full-time teachers in one of the other three schools in mountain village. Hence, a total number of 12 male and 11 female teachers work in four schools. All the 5 teachers at BECS were female, while all the 3 teachers at GBPS were male. Both male and female teachers worked at GGMS and PMS. In total, 12 out of 23 teachers (52%) in the village participated in this research and 5 (42%) of total 12 individual cases were female teachers.

Access to the Research Sites and Participants

I used purposive sampling for the selection of research sites and participants as discussed in chapter 4. While selecting the research site, I consulted my connections in the field who were educationists working for a reading project funded by USAID. Before leaving the United States for my field work, I had sent a letter about my research project to the Director of Education at the Gilgit-Baltistan Department of Education (DoE). A copy of my letter to the Director of Education is provided in appendix 2. Moreover, I discussed my research plans with the Director by phone and reconfirmed that he had received my letter. The Director confirmed that he had received my letter and he would inform field officers and schools before I reach the schools. Before travelling to the schools, I talked to the Deputy Director of Education (DD) for the selected district and discussed my fieldwork plans. He assured me of his full support and advised me to go ahead with my plans and visit schools for the interviews.

When I arrived at Pakistan in February 2019, Pakistan had blocked air space for all commercial flights and all airports were closed due to conflict with India along the disputed Line of Control in Kashmir. After getting stuck for one week, I continued my travel within Pakistan towards northern Pakistan. Travelling in Pakistan is challenging due to limited air travel options, security threats, poor road infrastructure and reckless driving.

In order to reach the research site, I travelled on the Karakoram Highway and it was an 18 hours journey from Islamabad to Gilgit, the capital city of Gilgit-Baltistan. During my fieldwork I resided in Gilgit and every morning I commuted one and half hour to Mountain Village – the first part of the drive was on the paved road but then

the drive was difficult on a narrow unpaved dirt road winding up the hills towards a mountain base where the village is located. The drive was dangerous at many places, especially when there was a car coming from the opposite direction, as one car had to reverse to a place wide enough for the two cars to pass.

Although I was born in a remote village and raised in the same region, this was the first time I travelled to Mountain Village. The region is known for spectacular mountainous landscape and rich cultural values, making one feel the area a peaceful, mystical and harmonious valley. With an altitude of more than 2000 meters above sea level, the valley has glaciers, forests, and Mountain Village is the farthest human settlement from where meadows begin. Surrounded by the majestic mountains, the village is an agricultural area with beautiful terrace fields, small houses, livestock and orchards with apricot, almond, mulberry and apple trees.

On my first day in Mountain Village, I visited the Government Boys Primary School and introduced myself to the head teacher and two other teachers. I shared a copy of my research letter that I had sent to the Director and informed them about my telephone conversations with their senior officials regarding the selection of schools for the research. All teachers warmly welcomed me. As per my plans, the first day was an introductory day to start building rapport with potential participants and developing a schedule of interviews after sharing my research objectives and consent forms. The GGMS, BECS and PMS were located nearby; hence, it was possible – and useful – to invite an active senior teacher to the GBPS for the first introductory meeting. Male teachers represented the target schools and joined our first meeting and helped in devising a schedule of interviews with teachers of the schools. Towards the end of first

day, I was able to work with the teachers in developing the schedule of interviews for the following two weeks. As part of my research, I had to share the consent form seeking voluntary participation of teachers, but signatures were not required as government employees and teachers in rural schools hesitate to sign any written documents. I shared print outs of consent forms in English with all teachers but then translated verbally in the local language, Shina, as originally planned and IRB approved for my fieldwork. I invited all available teachers in the introductory meetings in school offices, first at the GBPS and then at the GGMS, where interview plans were agreed upon. Towards the end of the fieldwork, 13 out of total 23 teachers (including teachers designated as head teachers) in the village participated voluntarily in the interviews.

A description of the four different types of schools, where the research participants worked is presented in the next section.

Site 1: Government Boys Primary School (GBPS)

The first site of my fieldwork was the Government Boys Primary School (GBPS) in Mountain Village. Established in 1973, the GBPS is the first school at the village and exclusively for boys up to Grade 5. In 1970s, there was only one teacher for all the five grades, though another teacher worked as a Quran Teacher for teaching recitation of the Holy Quran. Currently, there are three male teachers for seven grades starting from Nursery/Pre-K to Grade 5. A total number of 76 boys are currently enrolled in the school and most of the students are poor students with less educated parents. The class-wise enrollment breakdown and the annual examination results for 2018 is shown in Table 11.

Table 11

Enrollment and Results of Government Boys Primary School

Grade	Enrollment (2019)			Results 2018/ Promotion/ Graduation Rate
	Boys	Girls	Total	
ECD (Age 3)	8	0	8	N/A
Infant/Nursery	10	0	10	N/A
Grade 1	7	0	7	100%
Grade 2	13	0	13	90%
Grade 3	14	0	14	60%
Grade 4	12	0	12	70%
Grade 5	12	0	12	75%
Total Enrollment	**76**	**0**	**76**	100%

Note: Information collected from participants' interviews.

No tuition fee is charged as the school is a government school. After completing Grade 5, boys in Mountain Village have no free government middle school. Although, there is a government middle school for girls, boys are not allowed to enroll in the girls' school. The nearest government middle school for boys is located in another village and most of the boys have to walk for 1-2 hours to their middle school. Those students who could afford paying fees go to the village's private middle school, which allows both boys and girls to enroll in the same classes.

School opens at 8:30 am and closes at 1:30 pm, with a 30 minutes break at noon. School closes for summer vacations on July 1 – August 10, while the winter vacations are somewhat longer starting on December 10 and ending on January 31. This year the winter vacations were extended until February 10 due to extreme cold weather.

Basic infrastructure is available in the school, although there are only three classrooms for seven grades. Multigrade teaching is a common practice and the shortage of classrooms result in classes set up in the corridor and playground. I interviewed teachers in March 2019, and I noticed that classes were held inside classrooms on cold cloudy days. The teachers and students preferred outdoor classes on sunny days, as the outdoor temperature was comfortable compared to freezing temperature inside classrooms. Furniture including chairs and desks are available for students. Teachers use black boards, chalk, white boards and textbooks as teaching and learning materials. Figure 7 shows outdoor classes in multigrade teaching setting where teachers leave a student to monitor the class.

Figure 7

Outdoor Multigrade Classes at Government Boys Primary School

An office for the head teacher is a small room attached to the main building and this office is being used as a staff room as well as a safe place to store teaching and

learning materials. My fieldwork was conducted in winter and, as a guest, the teachers ensured that school office space where I conducted teacher interviews was warm. An *angithi* (a traditional brazier used for heating and cooking) and wood was used for heating in the school office. The school office walls contained charts showing school data and important notifications from the Department of Education (DoE). Electricity is available in the school without any equipment, except light bulbs, in the classroom or office. A desktop computer was on display in the office but not functional due to a technical problem. A toilet is attached to the school office room and water is available but only teachers could use the toilet. There is a small toilet block separate from the school building, but the toilets were locked, and I was informed that the toilets are not functional and that usually boys would go out to fields behind the school building. The school has a small playground and boundary wall with a metal entrance gate.

There are three male teachers for seven classes in the school. All the three male teachers are government regular teachers. The most senior teacher has additional responsibility to be the head teacher of school. Last year the teachers consulted the community through the School Management Committee (SMC) to address the issue of shortage of teachers. The SMC hired two female volunteer teachers with a salary of Rs. 3,000 ($21) per month and parents had to contribute a fee of Rs. 100 ($0.7) per child per month. The addition of two female community volunteer teachers reduced the burden of the three government teachers and pupil-teacher ratio reduced, but some community members were unhappy and complained that a government school is free by law and no fees should be charged. As a result, no fee was charged during the 2018-19 school year and no volunteer teachers were provided by the SMC. The head teacher

shared that sometimes two volunteer female teachers work, without SMC salary and hence not counted as teachers in official record. When volunteer teachers work at school, the head teacher pays Rs. 1000 ($7) per month out of his pocket to the teachers as there is no budget to hire more teachers. In Pakistan, non-salary government budget allocations for the primary schools are extremely low. Only one percent of the total government budget for the GBPS is allocated as non-salary budget and hence the school is under-resourced to improve the physical environment and purchase teaching and learning materials.

Similar to other rural schools in Pakistan, the non-salary budget for GBPS is extremely low and insufficient for teaching and learning materials. A low budget of Rs. 18,500 ($132), which is only one percent of annual budget of GBPS, for non-salary expenses, such as instructional materials and other items, as shown in Table 12.

Table 12

Annual Non-Salary Budget of GBPS

Budget Item	**Amount (Rs.)**	**Amount (US$)**
Instructional materials	6,000	43
Sports	3,000	21
Awards	2,500	18
Maintenance	7,000	50
Total annual non-salary budget for GBPS	**18,500**	**132**

Note. Data source is Participant Interview No. 3, March 7, 2019.

The total government budget at school level in case of GBPS is US$139 per child annually, compared to more than US$10,000 per child in USA and other developed countries. Acute shortage of financial resources is one of the main issues facing most of rural schools like GBPS, resulting in inability to improve the physical environment and purchase teaching and learning materials, not to mention hiring enough teachers for all grade levels, which are essential for achieving good student outcomes.

Site 2: Government Girls Middle School (GGMS)

GGMS was established in 2016-17 in Mountain Village. A total number of 206 students are enrolled in ten grades starting from ECD till Grade 8. The total enrollment of 206 students is the combined enrollment with BECS and include 55 girls enrolled at the middle level and 151 students enrolled at the primary level. All except 12 male students in nursery are girls.

Officially, GGMS is separate from other schools in the village, but the premises of GGMS are shared with Basic Education Community School (BECS). Although both schools have separate ownership and administration, the classes are combined and some teachers from BECS and GGMS were teaching classes at both primary and middle level. This arrangement appears complex administratively but the combined teaching workforce fills teacher shortage and provides free education from ECD up to Grade 8 for girls in Mountain Village.

GGMS provides free schooling up to Grade 8 for girls only; hence boys graduating Grade 5 from GBPS cannot enroll in the GGMS. Information on students' learning outcomes on literacy and numeracy is not available but the graduation

rate/annual examination results show a pass rate of 100% for Grade 8 and 70% for Grade 5.

The school has basic infrastructure, including classrooms, furniture, toilets, office room and a boundary wall. Some classrooms were constructed by government funding, while a European donor funded construction of four classrooms as a donation to the community.

The headmaster of GGMS is a male teacher. There are four male (including the headmaster) and four female teachers at GGMS. All the four male teachers are government regular employees, compared to only two female regular teachers. The third female teacher is a resident of another village and she is paid a monthly salary of Rs. 5,000 (US$36) from the government budget which is to hire teachers on short-term contracts. This budget is not under the control of the school, but the district officials hire and appoint teachers for schools under their jurisdiction. The fourth female teacher is a volunteer teacher with no salary from the government. Usually, the community would pay a monthly salary of Rs. 3,000-4,000 (US$28) to volunteer teachers, but the female teacher at GGMS has not been paid any salary for the last two years. Categories of teachers at GGMS is shown in Table 13.

Table 13

Contract Categories of Male and Female Teachers at GGMS

Categories of Teachers	Teachers (in numbers)			Teachers (in percentage)	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Government regular teachers with permanent job contracts	4	2	**6**	67	33
Contingent contract with salary from government	0	1	**1**	0	100
Volunteer teacher with salary from SMC or teachers	0	1	**1**	0	100
Total	**4**	**4**	**8**	**50**	**50**

One male and one female government regular teachers were on leave during my field visit. Five out of the six working teachers participated in the interviews for my research.

In addition to teachers, there are two male non-teaching staff, including a guard and a peon an assistant. The school opens at 8:30am and closes at 1:30pm. All government schools follow the fixed schedule for summer and winter vacations as described in the previous section on GBPS.

Site 3: Basic Education Community School (BECS)

In GB, a total number of 543 Basic Education Community Schools (BECS) were established in late 1990s under Pakistan's Social Action Program (SAP). These schools are commonly known as SAP schools or community schools. They were established with the objective of increasing girls' enrolment and promoting community participation in school management. The Northern Education Project

(NEP) 1998-2003, a project funded by the Government of Pakistan, World Bank and Department for International Development (DfID) helped local communities in constructing buildings of 382 community schools and established an endowment fund of Rs. 100,000 (Approx. USD 2,000) for each school.

The central feature of community schools was the leading role of Village Education Committees, which manage the school, teachers and finances. The girls' enrollment increased because parents of girls felt comfortable sending their daughters to new community schools predominated by female local teachers, among other reasons (Shafa, 2011). In GB, 29% of total schools are community schools, while their share of enrollment is 16% (Department of Education GB, 2014). Although community schools provided access to girls in rural areas, recent studies show that the quality of education appears to be the lower that in other types of schools (Shafa, 2011).

In 2009, the DoE transferred these schools to the Federal Government's National Education Foundation (NEF). Teachers' status and motivation is low and a monthly salary of USD 50 is lower than even the official minimum wage for unskilled labor. Hence, the teachers of these community schools have held strikes demanding pay raise, timely payment of salaries and regularization of jobs, but their demands remain unaddressed for the last two decades (Mir, 2011, November 30).

The BECS in Mountain Village was established in 1996 as the first primary school for girls. The school operates together with GGMS in the same premises, but BECS offer free education up to grade 5. A total number of 163 students, including

12 boys and 151 girls, are enrolled from ECD up to Grade 5 at BECS. Figure 8 shows BECS students learning outside classroom on a sunny day in March.

Figure 8

BECS Students Learning in Outdoor Classes

The school is managed by the community through a SMC and no fee is charged to the students' families. The Federal Government's NEF provides free textbooks and salary for the teachers. There are five female teachers at BECS and their monthly salary is Rs. 9,000 (US$64), but all the five teachers have not been paid any salary for more than one year. Teachers of the school have been demanding higher salary and regular job contracts from the government for over ten years, without any success.

Three out of five female teachers working at BECS participated in my research study.

Site 4: Private Middle School (PMS)

The private middle school (PMS) was established in 2002 utilizing the new classrooms constructed with donations from a western donor. In fact, the school is administered by a school management committee (SMC) and the school building is owned by the community, even though the school is called “the private school” in the village. PMS is perceived as the best school in the village and the Grade 8 graduation rate/annual examination pass rate is 100%. The school charges a fee of approximately 500 – 900 (US$ 3.6 – 6.4) per month and only those who could afford to pay the fee can send their children to PMS. The school is co-education allowing both boys and girls in the same classrooms. There are more boys (61%) enrolled in PMS, showing parents’ preference to boys but another factor is availability of a free government middle school for girls. Enrollment at PMS is shown in Table 14.

Table 14

Enrollment and Results of Private Middle School, 2019

Grades	Enrollment (in numbers)			Enrollment (in percentage)	
	Boys	**Girls**	**Total**	**Boys**	**Girls**
Nursery	19	11	30	63	37
Prep	23	12	35	66	34
Grade 1	23	7	30	77	23
Grade 2	16	13	29	55	45
Grade 3	7	12	19	37	63
Grade 4	13	9	22	59	41
Grade 5	12	6	18	67	33
Grade 6	10	8	18	56	44
Grade 7	18	7	25	72	28
Grade 8	2	5	7	29	71
Total Enrollment	**143**	**90**	**233**	**61**	**39**

The PMS is registered with the DoE and received annual NGO school grant of Rs. 25,000 (US$179) from the government. The school operates in the afternoon from 1:45pm-5:15pm with no break, using the same classrooms where GGMS and BECS operate in the morning time. Figure 9 shows PMS students taking a test for assessment.

Figure 9

PMS Students Taking a Test for Assessment

There is a separate office room for PMS. The Principal is a male teacher and some parents through SMC are actively involved in school management. There are 8 male and 4 female teachers working at the PMS. Most of the teachers at PMS are government employees or teachers at the other three schools in the village and work at PMS during afternoons as part-time salaried teachers. PMS is perceived by teachers as the best quality school in the village, though not affordable to poor families.

Two out of five full-time teachers at PMS participated in my research study. In addition, four teachers interviewed from other three schools were part-time teachers at PMS, thus overall six out of twelve teachers working at PMS were included in my study.

Research Participants

There were 12 teachers, including 7 males and 5 females, who participated voluntarily in the interviews for my research. Participants were a diverse group with different backgrounds and characteristics. The actual names of participants have been replaced with pseudonyms and the title Mr. or Ms. used for male and female, respectively. A list of participants showing teacher characteristics, including gender, school and contract type, is shown in table 15.

Table 15

List of Participants and School Affiliations

Interview Number	Pseudonym	Gender	School (Full-time teaching)	Contract Type	School-wise teacher sample
1	Ali	Male	Govt Boys Primary School (GBPS)	Permanent/ government regular	All 3 male teachers interviewed at GBPS
2	Hassan	Male	GBPS	Permanent/ government regular	
3	Raza	Male	GBPS	Permanent/ government regular	
4	Fatima	Female	Government Girls Middle School (GGMS)	Temporary/Community Teacher	5 out of 8 teachers interviewed including 3 regular government teachers and 2 volunteer contract teachers.
5	Suraya	Female	GGMS	Temporary/Substitute Teacher	
6	Zahra	Female	GGMS	Permanent/ government regular	
7	Mustafa	Male	GGMS	Permanent/ government regular	
8	Murtaza	Male	GGMS	Permanent/ government regular	

Interview Number	Pseudonym	Gender	School (Full-time teaching)	Contract Type	School-wise teacher sample
9	Sarah	Female	Basic Education Community School (BECS)	BECS/ Temporary	2 out of 5 female teachers interviewed
10	Sahar	Female	BECS	BECS/ Temporary	
11	Hussain	Male	Private School	Private school contract	A total 6 teachers out of 13 interviewed **(2 private school teachers**, 2 female and 2 male teachers from above schools)
12	Salman	Male	Private School	Private school contract	

A detailed description of each participant and their pathways to teaching are presented in next three chapters.

CHAPTER 6: MALE TEACHERS AT GOVERNMENT BOYS PRIMARY SCHOOL: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents findings and analysis from the interviews of three male teachers at the Government Boys Primary School (GBPS). Each teacher is an individual case. A brief description of individual case is followed with a detailed discussion and analysis of findings categorized under the main themes.

Case 1: Mr. Ali

Ali's interview was the first interview which I conducted as a pilot interview with a more detailed discussion. Ali's interview was 45 minutes longer than average interview time of one and half hour.

Profile

Ali aged 33 years, was born and raised in Mountain Village. Ali is the youngest male teacher at the GBPS and youngest male teacher in the village. He was recruited two years ago as a regular Elementary School Teacher (EST) in basic pay scale (BPS) 14 at the GBPS. His current monthly salary is Rs. 29,000 (US$ 207) and he is entitled to all the benefits for government regular employees. With a master's degree in English from a well-reputed public university, he is the first government teacher with this high qualification in English at his village.

Ali left his village for higher education in the city of Karachi and returned to Mountain Village after completing a M.A. in English. At the time, there were no job opportunities in his village, but luckily, he did not remain unemployed for long as he was offered a job as Principal of a private college (higher secondary school level) in

Gilgit. Ali left his village, started working as the Principal of the private college, also teaching English at the same school. Meanwhile, he provided private tutoring in the evenings and completed a B.Ed. degree through distance learning from Allama Iqbal Open University (AIOU).

Ali was consistent in trying to get a government regular job as the private sector is small with low paid jobs compared to well-paid (with benefits), permanent government jobs in GB. He applied for several jobs in government departments without success initially, and finally in 2017, he succeeded in competing for a teaching position advertised for GBPS in his village. At his school, there are only three government teachers for seven classes; hence, all teachers follow multigrade teaching methods. Ali is a passionate and enthusiastic young teacher engaged actively in school-level and village-level initiatives. He is teaching English and Urdu language classes for primary grades at the government school, while during afternoons he is teaching English and Social Studies for different grades at the private middle school in his village.

Influence of Teachers and Entry into teaching

Ali completed primary schooling in his village and then high school in a neighboring village, before leaving the valley to pursue higher education in the city of Karachi. Like other students from the village, he had to walk to a neighboring village to access schooling after Grade 5. Ali strongly believes that his interest in teaching was developed by inspirations from one of his high school teachers, who was a highly qualified teacher with an M.Ed. from Aga Khan University Karachi, which is

considered to be Pakistan's best university. Ali described the influence of his teacher and his first teaching experience:

> His teaching style was much better than the rest of the teachers…[H]e was a very good teacher, [his] teaching methodology was very good, and he is my ideal teacher. While observing him teaching, I developed interest in teaching. Later on, I went to Karachi. As you know, the majority of people in GB live below the poverty line. So, there [in Karachi], I had to work besides [taking classes at] my college. Teaching was a feasible option for earning, so I started home tuition [tutoring]… So, I gained interest in teaching and earned at the same time.

Ali's teaching beliefs and practices were influenced by his early experiences of observing his own teachers. Ali's reflection on the influence of his school teachers echo with the concept of apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975), explained in chapter 2. Not all the observations were positive for Ali. Some teachers were teaching only a few selected chapters of the textbooks leaving the courses incomplete, and consequently students achieved low scores in the Board examinations. All of his teachers were respectable for Ali, but as a child, Ali did not like some teachers due to their rudeness, harsh attitude and corporal punishment:

> When we didn't complete tasks or homework, teachers would give even physical punishment. Now we are teachers here, we try to avoid that negative teaching style which we observed. We try not to punish children even if they have not done homework. We ask reasons why they have not done homework,

perhaps because they were sick or don't have copy pencil at home, so we try to find out solutions.

The above excerpt shows that Ali's early experience as a student had an impact on his teaching beliefs and practice. On the one side, Ali attributes his interest in teaching to his favorite school teacher and tries to follow his favorite teacher's teaching methods. On the other side, Ali still remembers the harsh attitude and physical punishment of some of his school teachers and now Ali, himself a teacher, avoids those practices.

Ali, while continuing his higher education in Karachi, began his part time teaching career first as a part time tutor and then as a teacher in a private school. Once he completed his M.A. degree, he returned to GB and then started working as a Principal of a private college in Gilgit for the next five years. Entering teaching in a private institution was easy for Ali as he was offered the job directly; however, he tried several times but failed to get a government teaching position as competition is high for the well-paid regular government jobs in GB.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

Two years ago, the recruitment of teachers in remote rural areas was made in a new category of "hard [rural and remote] areas." Previously, the recruitment for male teachers was open for all candidates in a tehsil or union council. [2] A new category of hard areas limited number of candidates to only local applications for the

[2] GB is administratively divided into 10 districts. Under the three-tier local government system, a district is sub-divided into tehsils and, a tehsil is further sub-divided into union councils. The union councils are the lowest-tier of local government, consisting of a territorial area comprising one or more villages and a locally elected council.

hard area.[3] New teaching positions in government schools are rarely available, as the government hires a new teacher only when an existing teacher retires, or a new school is established. In recent years the government has increased hiring teachers for the primary schools with one or two teachers, with the aim to staff primary schools with at least three teachers. As soon as a teacher vacancy was announced for Ali's village primary school, he applied for the position:

> There was an advertisement [of teaching vacancy] in the newspaper. I completed the application process and then our test was conducted in a Girls High School [an hour away from the village]. The result was announced after one and half or two months and then, subsequently, our interviews were conducted in Gilgit [provincial capital city]…[T]here were five panel members: education director, secretary, someone from finance and our deputy director [from district education office], who is retired now. So, they asked general questions. In my introduction, I told them that I worked as a Principal and the responsibilities, such as how to make time table, etc. and then, with Allah's blessing, it was done... I was inducted as I was in the first position.

Ali was already well informed about the government recruitment policies and procedures at the time he applied for the primary school teacher position in his village. He confirmed his prior knowledge and experience of recruitment process including selection tests:

[3] A hard area is rural and remote area defined by the government. As per government recruitment rules, only residents of a village declared as "hard area" are eligible to apply for teaching positions in the schools at a village.

> Definitely, even from Karachi we used to apply for [college] lecturer positions, [school teacher] BPS 14 and 16 and appeared in tests. Sometimes our names were not shortlisted; sometimes we didn't pass test. For example, in 2014 we appeared in the test for lecturer position but until now the interviews for that post are pending. We know how the process of NTS [National Testing Service] and FPSC [Federal Public Service Commission] work, how to submit forms. I already knew.

Like most of other provinces of Pakistan, the recruitment of teachers in Gilgit is generally perceived to be infected with political influence, corruption, bribery, nepotism and disregard for merit. On the contrary to this general perception and literature, Ali believed that in his case the recruitment process and final selection were fair and merit-based:

> In that process, people tried and approached others to change interview marks, but people [recruiting officers] at that time were fair in the department. Honestly speaking, I have not even offered a cup of tea to anyone, although I could have approached a Secretary or MNA [a politician]. Even when I graduated in Karachi, someone offered me a position of grade 16 if I paid Rs. 250,000 [USD 1,786], but I personally believe if one gets a job by depriving someone else's right, then on the day of judgement one will be answerable. At that time, the induction was fair, and we checked the result of Gilgit-Baltistan, all position holders were rightly appointed. Only Allah knows if something else happened.

Ali's Recruitment at GBPS

As the final selected teacher from his village, Ali's initial appointment was made for GBPS and he has not been transferred to any other schools since his appointment two years ago. Teacher transfer remains a sensitive and political issue in GB, like many other provinces of Pakistan. Policy and implementation practices of teacher transfer are diverse, with changing orders as well as different decisions based on individual cases. I noticed that a government order displayed in the school office warned teachers of transfers in case of poor performance. I asked Ali about his understanding of how teacher transfer system works and whether transfers were used as a punishment. He responded that:

> In some cases, teachers are transferred as a punishment or due to personal or ideological differences... Maybe some people don't follow instructions of seniors [officers] resulting in their transfer...they [senior officers] transfer a teacher from one village to a further remote village and dislocate [them] from home location to a far-flung area.

Although, there is lack of research on teacher transfer in GB, researchers (Saeed et al., 2013) in other provinces of Pakistan found that "often teachers who do not listen to the dictate[es] of the political actors are severely punished in social or financial terms and sometimes transferred to remote areas" (p. 170). However, transfers at GBPS appear to be less frequent, as two out of three teachers have never been transferred outside their village. Some transfers are top-down, driven by decision of senior officers or a new government policy, while some transfers could be initiated at

the request of a teacher who would prefer a different level or location of schools. Ali is among those teachers who wish to teach higher grades in an urban school.

Ali suggested that the current practice of seniority-based teacher deployment and promotion needs to be revisited:

> In my personal opinion, in our education department senior [teachers] are given preference. I say this openly... [break] unfortunately, senior [teachers] are preferred in our department. A person who could not run a primary school, who could not be an effective head of middle school, that person will be given higher appointments [because of his/her seniority]. While many efficient people, who are highly educated from good institutions, are not given any preference. Their potential is not utilized, and they are given some other tasks. This is an issue. For example, if someone has M.Sc. M.Phil. or PhD. or has degrees, that person should be deployed in a high school or anywhere there is need.

Getting a government regular job is a great achievement for Ali, especially in a village where a government job does not get vacant until after many years and competition is tough. Nevertheless, teaching in a rural primary school is not Ali's ideal career destination. Instead, he would prefer teaching higher grades in an urban school where he could find more opportunities for his professional growth. Perhaps living and teaching for many years in the cities with modern facilities, among other factors, influenced Ali's preferences:

> Since I used to teach in Karachi and later on near Gilgit city, [having had] teaching experience in urban schools, I was thinking to teach for senior

> classes so that I also grow. And environment should be challenging, so that I get an opportunity to learn and it will be good for [my] teaching. Now having an M.A. in English, I teach ABCs to kids or basics in Urdu; that's all. That's why my communication and teaching ambitions have slightly reduced because environment matters.

The above excerpt presents a case where even a local teacher might not prefer teaching in a rural primary school. Unwillingness of highly qualified teachers to work in rural schools could be one of the reasons why attracting the best talent for under-resourced rural schools still remains a challenge. Ali's feeling of isolation in an under-resourced school was clearly evident when he stated that, in the school a teacher has "nothing except textbooks. We explain what is in the textbook. There is no magazine, periodical or newspaper. There is no internet for us to read and prepare." There was no internet service in the village and cell phone service started just four or five years ago. In order to access the internet, Ali had to ride a motorbike or walk for more than one hour to a neighboring village, where a small internet café was recently set up. Non-availability of internet service in rural areas further increases isolation of teachers, as perceived by Ali.

Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

Ali began thinking to get a professional degree in education as soon as he decided on teaching as his long-term career. While working full time as the principal of a private college, Ali acquired a 1-year Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree from KIU. As a private candidate, he was not required to attend any classes, but he had to pass a final exam administered by KIU. Although Ali completed his B.Ed. degree in

2014, he was not able to get a government teaching job for three years, when a vacancy for his village was advertised. Currently, he is pursuing a M.Ed. degree through distance learning from AIOU. Ali believes that a B.Ed. and a M.Ed. were essential for his professional development. Besides, a B.Ed. degree results in an increase in salary for government teachers. Ali described his motivations and critical reflection of teacher education experience:

> While teaching, it was essential to get a B.Ed. and a M.Ed. for further grooming. So, I considered it important to get such course, especially when I knew teaching would be my career. I completed the B.Ed. before joining government and started the M.Ed. after joining government. Two benefits: we get to know new things from the M.Ed. workshop; also with a B.Ed. your salary structure improves in government...I was informed by a friend just one week before the deadline for submission of forms [registration forms enabling a candidate to appear in final examination] for B.Ed. Then we started preparation, but the B.Ed. curriculum is outdated. For examples, [the curriculum/textbook] content included the 1956 education policy. Some content is useful but how does 1956 education policy relate to the 21st century? That question should be rephrased to what should be policies for 2025, so new ideas will come from students and it will be good for the department...No doubt some content in the B.Ed. is outdated, but some content is useful. In one year's duration, we didn't study as much as we should have because we had no option of regular classes. Secondly, there was no supervisor who could give us feedback.

The boundaries between preservice and inservice are blurred, especially in a context of a complex teacher education system. In some cases, a B.Ed. and a M.Ed. degree are considered preservice degrees required to be eligible to apply for government jobs; however, as observed in Ali's case, these degrees are pursued by inservice teachers as well. Therefore, a teacher education program can be classified as a preservice or inservice depending on the employment status of the teachers.

Ali is of the view that some content of the B.Ed. is useful, but most of the materials are outdated. Moreover, since he completed the B.Ed. as a private candidate with no tutor, it was not fully effective. He thinks teacher education degrees and high qualifications are less influential on the performance of primary school teachers. "In primary schools, there is not much role for a highly qualified person. A committed person who would teach sincerely is needed here and better than a PhD or MPhil or Master's."

Inservice Training and Influences

In addition to the two professional degree programs, Ali has participated in some short-term inservice training programs. There has been no inservice training by the government since he became employed as a government teacher in 2017, but Ali has participated in two donor-funded training programs. Ali's first training, as a government inservice teacher, was a training for early childhood (ECD) master trainers organized at the Aga Khan University's professional development center in Gilgit. "After induction, we had one-week ECD master trainer training in Gilgit. We didn't have much information about ECD before that workshop. My department nominated me from here for that training and then we trained other teachers." The

second training opportunity for Ali was again a donor-funded training on improving early grade reading skills. Unlike his first training, the second training on reading skills was a field-based training by USAID-funded Pakistan Reading Project (PRP)[4].

Ali was nominated for PRP training by the district education office. He participated in PRP's face-to-face training, teacher inquiry groups (TIGs) and coaching modules. A 3-day face-to-face training was followed by TIG meetings at the local cluster level and finally coaching at the school level. Ali considers the PRP training to be effective, particularly because of its coaching and the follow-up at the school level. He remembers PRP trainers visiting his class twice during last year for observations and feedback. Ali noted, "they [trainers] observed our class and they gave us feedback. Then they demonstrated and took classes, on our insistence." Ali considers PRP training to be useful in influencing his teaching positively, but he pointed out that the shortage of teachers in his school, which required him and his colleagues to work in multigrade classrooms, limited the effectiveness of the training:

> We try the techniques they [trainers] suggested. Reading is a major problem for children here as well as other schools. We try techniques they suggested, such as break words, phonics, etc., tapping system, use of big books, side words; so a lot has changes. When I was teaching Grade 1, the trainer observed [my class] and she said there is improvement...But the change they intended was not possible because we are only three teachers for seven classes.

[4] USAID-funded PRP is a seven-year project ending on June 2020. The project's objective is to improve reading skills of children in grades one and two in public schools. In GB, the PRP trained 1,124 teachers and distributed learning materials for 51,000 students by June 2019, among other interventions (USAID PRP, 2020, February 12).

In government schools, free textbooks have been provided to students in recent years. However, Ali perceived free textbook distribution a futile intervention with no impact on enrollments. He suggests that "it would be better to train teachers and repair building, instead of providing textbooks. Or give other incentives to teachers and students." Initially in the interview, Ali had raised teacher shortage and parents' attitude as the two key challenges in improving education quality in government schools. Later on, Ali added teachers and syllabus as a potential explanation for quality issues in government schools. "In private school, we have taught and seen that there are less facilities…not good building; [however,] even then people pay more attention to private school. The causes are perhaps our teachers or syllabus are not updated and good."

Perceptions on Relevance of Training

Ali did not remember any content in preservice or inservice training focusing on teaching in remote schools and relevant to the cultural and environmental context of mountain societies. He noted that a one-day training on avalanches was organized by an NGO two weeks ago at his school for teachers, community members and senior students.

Regarding environmental education, Ali explained that there is no content specifically focused on mountain ecosystem and environment, but his school teachers try to raise awareness among students. "We have to celebrate special days [related to environment] and if we are unable to celebrate those days, we try to teach to keep the environment clean..." Nevertheless, Ali did not believe pollution and garbage was a problem for the village, unlike in cities. Even though there is no garbage collection

and disposal system, Ali thinks that there is less garbage in the village due to less consumption compared to cities. He states that there is "no organized arrangement but people throw [garbage] in a trench near the stream. Mostly people will burn plastic, as in the village we have less garbage. It [garbage] is either burned or thrown near the trench." Perhaps these practices might result in increased air and water pollution, though Ali did not mention any other forms of pollution.

Teaching: A Difficult Job in a Challenging Environment

Ali remembers his first observation at the school when he started teaching two years ago. "When I joined, there were three teachers for seven classes, and I asked the head teacher how do you handle three classes simultaneously? He responded, "this is the government system and there are three teachers for a primary school," we kept all classes together and taught a few minutes to each class. This was a tough job." Ali thinks the teachers in their government school have basic facilities, such as a building and textbooks, but there is a lack of supplementary teaching materials and no internet service. Ali uses textbooks as the primary source for teaching in his multigrade classes. "We have textbooks and we get syllabus breakdown formats from DDO, which shows teaching on monthly basis for Grade 5 and 8. For junior classes, we calculate days and then break down syllabus and plan accordingly."

The multi-lingual environment is another challenge for rural teachers. The language of playground is the local language called "Shina" and children communicate with each other in Shina. The official language of Pakistan is English, while Urdu is the national language and lingua franca in this multilingual country.

In the province of GB, there are seven local languages, but no school textbooks have ever been developed in the local languages. A possible explanation is the lack of policy on promoting local languages and secondly there is no agreed upon written script of the local oral language. Textbooks from the province of Punjab are used in GB schools and all textbooks are either in English or Urdu. Ali reported that teachers in his school try to use Urdu in the classrooms, even though students prefer speaking their native language, Shina. In the staff room teachers communicate with each other in Shina, as Ali admitted: "when there are children in front of us or there is language barrier, we speak Urdu... Otherwise, if we are only teachers, then we use our own language [Shina]." Ali described the use of multiple languages in the teaching:

> We try to use Urdu from Grade 2 to Grade 5. We use Shina as well and switch languages on [and as] need basis... When they [students] communicate among themselves, they use Shina, but when they communicate with us, most of the time, they use Urdu… We try and advise them [students] to speak Urdu, which is the national language of country. But during our absence, they speak their own language... Normally, when we teach English, we try to speak the target language with them. Even then, when there are complications, we use code switching, to switch to Urdu, to Shina, and use other support.

Ali believes teaching, especially language teaching for low performing students, is a very difficult job:

> This job is very difficult. We are stuck. Children in upper grades have low learning level; they even don't have learning competencies required at nursery level. For example, if I am teaching narration or tenses or a topic on grammar

> in a class, but children are unable to distinguish between ‘this’ and ‘that’ and ‘my’, so I have to go back and restart with teaching vowels, consonants and I have to leave the topic. And, hence, the target syllabus remains incomplete and the exams will be conducted on that syllabus. I have to teach basics, while leaving syllabus targets.

Challenges and Barriers for Rural Teachers

Ali discussed several challenges but identified the shortage of teachers as the biggest issue at GBPS. He questions the basic premise of quality teaching in a context where only three teachers are responsible to teach seven classes. Last year, Ali, along with two other teachers, advocated to hire volunteer teachers and succeeded in convincing the School Management Committee (SMC). The SMC agreed with the teachers’ proposal and hired four female teachers with a salary of Rs. 3000 (US$ 21) per month. SMC paid the salary of volunteer teachers by charging a fee of Rs.100 (US$ 0.7) per child per month, though this was not mandatory if a child’s parents could not pay. Ali explained how they convinced parents to help the school by providing volunteer community teachers:

> We cannot charge fee in a government school. We told parents that you pay Rs. 1000-1500 [USD 7-11] per month in private schools. If you contribute Rs. 100 [US$ 0.7], then we can bring volunteer teachers, so that teacher shortage is filled. They [parents] agreed and we had seven teachers for seven classes, but some parents complained against us and they approached DD [head of district education office], saying “these [government] teachers are getting money from us, even though they are paid salary by the government.” In

> fact…we didn't even collect money, it was these community teacher who had to collect.

The initiative to hire community teachers didn't succeed as some parents were unhappy and approached the district education officer complaining about the government school charging fees. Since a government school has to provide free education, it was difficult for the SMC to charge fees and pay salaries for the volunteer teachers. This year, no fee was charged, and no salary was paid to the volunteer teachers. Therefore, officially there are no more volunteer teachers. Even though SMC has stopped paying the salary of volunteer teachers, two female teachers continue to teach ECD classes voluntarily. Ali explained that the issue of teacher shortage and salary for volunteer teachers by community contribution remains unresolved:

> The shortage of teachers is the only issue in a government school. We discussed this with DD [deputy director education], and he said in government system there are only three teachers for a primary school [regardless of the enrollment], so he cannot appoint a fourth teacher. [Therefore,] we were trying to convince parents to provide one or two teachers and pay their salary or pay 3000-4000 from a combined fund of community. Alternatively, each student could contribute 100 per month to them... [T]here has been no decision so far.

Parents' Background and Indifferent Attitude Towards Government School

Another important challenge for teachers in rural context is parents' indifferent attitude and lack of awareness, according to Ali. Most of the children in

the government school come from poor economic backgrounds and their parents, especially mothers, are illiterate. Ali elaborated on parents' background and attitude towards education in the village:

> This area is a poor area and there are no business opportunities. So farming is the basic source of livelihood. Those who have any jobs or business, they have moved their children to cities for good schools. Children here come from poor background… Here parents of most kids don't know what is Islamiat, Maths, English, SST [Social Studies]... Parents of 80% kids are not educated... Besides poverty, there is a lack of awareness about education. Poverty is a hurdle, but the even bigger hurdle is unawareness. There are people who have nothing, [but] they sell land and prefer to educate their children. So, parents don't have that level of awareness that they come and communicate with teachers and discuss issues. In government institutions [schools], building is free, teacher is free, books are free and there could be a good teaching, but there is a lack of awareness, and this is a big hurdle… It is said [by the community] that the government school has no education and children don't learn. Change is possible when parents would ask teachers why their kids' homework is not checked or why kids are weak. The majority of the members in SMC are not educated. Once I told my head teacher that we should first start educating parents, even before educating students. When parents are educated, they will give importance to education.

The discussion on parents' role and attitude lead Ali to compare public with private schooling in the village. Ali shared his observations of the trends in student

transfers between the government and private school in the village. He noted that the best performing students leave the government school and parents of top performers in a class move their children to the private school, while the low performing students from the private school get enrolled in the government school. In Ali's opinion, parents perceive government school as a free school for low performing children. Comparing parents' attitude towards a government and private school, Ali explains the differences:

> We have basic facilities, like AV aids/charts we receive from the government. Overall, we have building, lights, white boards; most of things are available. But the problem is parents' psychology [perceptions about government schools] or perhaps we as a society think that way... Parents say this is a government school so if it works it's fine; if it doesn't work, even then it's fine. It's just like a patient who goes to free doctors at a government hospital but don't get cured, while they are cured with the same prescription when they pay a fees to the same doctor at a private clinic. So, it's the same here.

Ali believes that teachers' effort and government initiatives fail to improve children's learning outcomes mainly because of parents' negative perceptions and indifferent attitudes towards government schools.

> My effort here is more than my effort in my past teaching at a private school. However, I don't get the response I expect from students as they take it lightly [as less important]. All my teacher friends work very hard, writing, explaining, giving examples, out-of-class activities, all activities, but we don't get the response which children give at private schools. This is now a habit of

> people; people believe that there is no education in government school; it's just time-pass [waste of time]. Moreover, parents send better children with capacity to learn to private schools while weak students come to our school. There are many instances. Last year, the top position holders [best performing students] from our school were taken away by parents and then enrolled in the private school. And the students who failed in the private school were enrolled here. Every session, every time we have to restart from step 1; well performing students leave the school. People, society has this kind of thinking...

Isolation and Lack of Opportunities

Ali identified some challenges and barriers for teacher living and working in a village. Isolation, lack of opportunities and exposure were key barriers for Ali. Ali clearly expressed his feelings of isolation and compared life in his village with cities:

> Every day, I think about this… There is no exposure here and the number of educated people is low. For instance, there [in city], we were teaching until 5 pm, in morning as well as afternoon classes. After classes we had social time with friends and other teachers, so we learned informally from peers. Here you don't find people for discussions, so the learning system is disconnected here... [Y]ou find old people who share stories from 50 years ago, so we don't get new information, even we don't have newspapers available...This is a rural area, so teachers have to go home for other tasks. So, unlike cities, we don't get time [for discussions]. Secondly, my morning income is fine, but I don't have opportunity for tutoring... A salary of 30,000 is not sufficient to meet

> expenses, such as education for kids, food and medicine. It's rural area so we don't pay house rent, electricity bills are less unlike cities, and we have wood, so it is still manageable; [however,] with the same salary, it is difficult to live in a city. In some matters [expenses] this area is better but in cities you have alternative work/job opportunities, tutoring or extra job. I would like to mention that the efficiency I had in cities has reduced here due to the environment.

Ali's career aim is to teach higher grades in a city where he could avail a wide range of opportunities for his economic and professional growth. Ali believes that everyone wishes to work in a city: "I would prefer if I move to a bigger school or city, then it would be more beneficial for me…[I]n a challenging environment one has interest in learning. This is a wish of everyone in the village, I think."

Gender Dimension: Advantages and Disadvantages for Male and Female Teachers

Ali was born and raised in the same village where he is teaching now. Ali strongly believed that the gender roles are changing, and girls' education is more valued and more common now, compared to the time when he was a student:

> When we were in school, if we were 80 students only 20% would be girls, but now every girl and every boy is in school, so this difference has reduced. In the past girls' education was not considered important, as they would work at home and help parents, so only boys were allowed to go out of home to school. Now that the trend has completely changed. When they go to schools, [girls] are sent free to study or work in other institutions. Also, the trend of working at home has changed. In the past, boys were doing school

> assignments at home while girls were doing home chores. Now either parents do chores, so that girls too study at home, or distribute work between boys and girls. The old traditions have changed.

Unlike most of the traditional villages where access to girls' education is an issue, Ali pointed out that boys in the village are disadvantaged, because there is no government middle school for boys while girls have access to a government middle school. Boys from the village had to walk to another village to access a free government middle school. Compared to girls, the communities would easily accept boys walking long distances in mountainous terrain, which in this case puts boys in a disadvantaged position.

Ali discussed another important issue related to male privilege in a traditional patriarchal society. Although there are local female teachers and girls' enrollment is higher than it was, women are still excluded from political and public spheres. No women are a member of SMC and female teachers are dependent on male teachers for information and dependent on their male family members to travel outside the village. Ali recognized his privilege as a male teacher in the community. His wife is a female volunteer teacher and he explained the advantages a male teacher gets in the village:

> Yes, male get preference [in the village]. I can spare more time and I can work solely on a task, while my wife will go with two kids and she might not be able to have spare time due to home chores and responsibilities. Or I can focus more compared to her as she has too many additional responsibilities at home...I might have more exposure, people rely more on me, or perhaps in

this area people perceive me with more potential than women. My demand for teaching is more, so they will ask me before my wife.

As one of the most qualified teachers with exposure from living and working in cities, Ali's perceptions appear to be progressive. Perhaps Ali is not completely convinced to accept equal role of male and female teachers at least inside the classrooms. He did mention that ECD and early grades suit female teachers. Perhaps gender stereotypes and a teaching role for women defined by men resulted in an accepted practice of assigning early grade classes to female teachers. These trends were evident from the data collected in this research, showing female teachers are assigned in early grades in all the schools. Also, Ali highlighted that promoting girls' education was important as there will be more educated mothers in the society. "We try to encourage girls' education more than boys because an educated mother teaches children much better."

Lastly, Ali added that modernization and changes are not always positive, because "it's the time of technology, to be educated and bring change to improve human conditions is good thing…[but] our Islamic culture is gradually reducing and we are trying to adopt other cultures, which is diminishing our ethical values."

Ali is excited about his new government job and continuing his education through distance learning for a M.Ed. degree. He believes that the remoteness of his village and lack of resources, especially access to the internet, are the key barriers resulting in isolation and limited opportunities.

Case 2: Mr. Hassan

Profile

Hassan, aged 45 years, is a male teacher with 12 years of experience teaching different subjects at government primary and middle schools in remote villages. Currently he is teaching Maths, General Science, Urdu and Islamiat to grate 1-5 at GBPS. He lives with his wife and eight children in a neighboring village and commutes every day to GBPS, mostly walking for one hour. He completed Grade 10 from a high school in the neighboring village and then lived for two years in the city of Gilgit to complete Grade 12. Before entering the teaching profession, he worked as a technician on temporary contract with a government department.

Initially, Hassan was recruited in 2007 as an elementary school teacher at the Basic Pay Scale (BPS) 7 for a primary school in a remote village in the same valley. His school was more than two hours away from his home, so he had to live in one of the rooms at the school in the remote village. In subsequent years, he was transferred seven times to different primary and middle schools in the valley. Hassan is one of the most transferred teachers with a diverse experience of teaching in many schools, while the other two male teachers at GBPS have never been transferred to another school outside their village. Hassan's current monthly salary is approximately Rs. 40,000 (US$286) and he is entitled to all the benefits for government regular employees. In 2018 he completed a M.Ed. degree through distance learning from AIOU. Previously, Hassan completed a B.Ed. degree through distance learning from AIOU in 2005 and then got recruited as a government regular teacher in 2007.

Hassan is a committed and accomplished teacher who is content with his career and life in a remote valley.

Influence of Teachers and Entry into Teaching

Hassan completed his early schooling up to Grade 10 in a neighboring village, and then moved to Gilgit city where he stayed at a relative's home and completed Grade 12. Hassan believed that he was unable to go to a university in the cities due to his responsibilities at home in the village. "After Grade 12, I came back [to the village] and got married and got stuck. Now I have eight children." He believes that his early grade school teachers have influenced his interest in the teaching profession:

> My favorite teacher has died now, but in Grade 1 he used to hold our hands and taught us how to write. He prepared reed straw pens for us and wrote on wooden tablets with clay. We prepared wooden tablets from apricot tree wood. I remember that teacher; he used to hold our hands and helped us learn writing skills. We respected those teachers. Now, time has changed, and teachers' respect and value has diminished. I thought about this job [teaching] while observing their values… Once my school teacher asked me about my future aspirations and I responded, "I want to be a teacher." Allah blessed me and it materialized.

Hassan's career history is particularly interesting as he switched from a job as technician to teaching. He started his work life as a technician responsible to guard and maintain government heavy machines, for a monthly salary of Rs. 4000 [US$29]. This was the only job option available for him near his village and he availed it. This work was unrelated to teaching, though Hassan had sufficient free time at work and

succeeded in getting higher education degrees through distance learning. Hassan noted that while working as a technician, “I got time to study even more than in my home.” He utilized free time at his workplace to complete a B.Ed. degree, which enabled him to apply for government teaching positions. Hassan strongly believed that his technician work was a temporary opportunity for earning income, but his long-term career goal remained to be teaching.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

Hassan was selected for a government regular teaching position for a primary school in a remote village in 2007. At that time, the recruitment policy allowed applicants from all villages within a Union Council (UC) to apply for any vacant teaching positions at a primary school. There were no teaching opportunities in Hassan’s village but another primary school in a remote village had a shortage of teachers. The community of that remote village consistently demanded for more teachers and their pressure resulted in the government education department’s decision to create two new teaching positions. After going through a recruitment process and following up with government officials, Hassan succeeded in being selected for the teaching position at a remote primary school. The second teacher selected for the government teaching position was a native from the village where the primary school was located.

Hassan’s being selected was not simple. Originally, Hassan had gone through a selection test and interview for teaching positions at another school, but he was not selected as he was not on the top of the merit list. He along with other local applicants continued their struggle to enter into government teaching service and approached

several government officials and politicians. Hassan's political connection were not helpful in getting him the job, as he said, "we approached our political representative...we voted for him. He hardly met but didn't help so our connections didn't work, and we were waiting." However, Hassan's meetings with the government officer responsible for the recruitment was not hopeless as Hassan remembered his meetings with the officer:

> We travelled three or four times and met him. He said once posts [teaching positions] are created in our area, he will appoint us, and no outsider will be appointed. Had they appointed outsiders, we were not going to accept [this,] as we would go to a court, but it was not needed. When posts were created, we were appointed.

Hassan mentioned that he had prior experience with the entry test for a teaching position, since he had been tested in 2000, but was not short-listed for the interview. Although Hassan believes his recruitment to be merit-based and as a right of the local applicants from his valley, he thought that some people used to find connections to get government jobs.

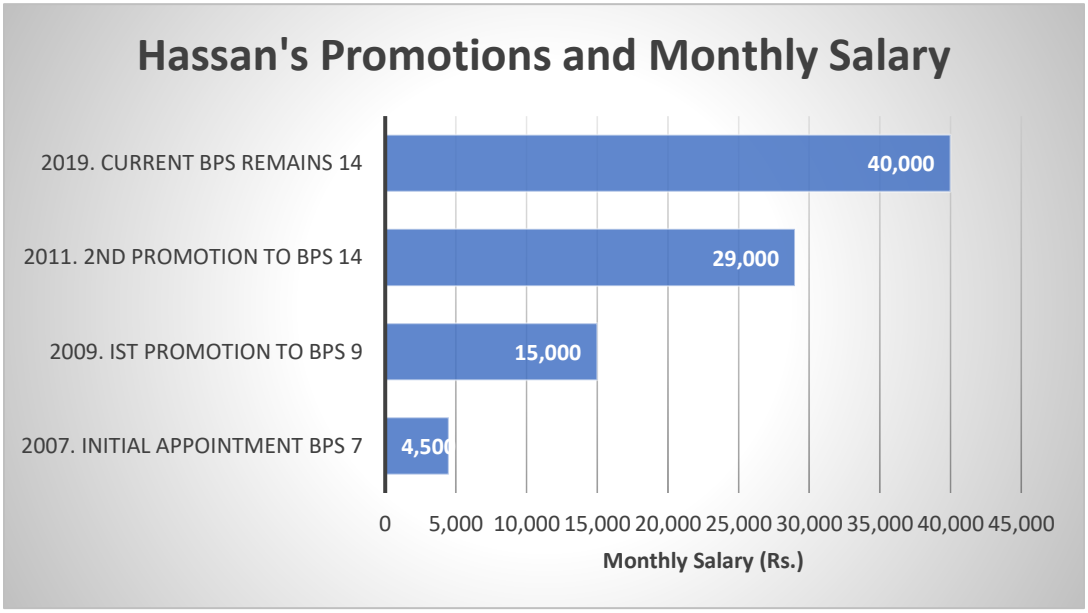
Hassan's Frequent Transfers and Two Promotions

Hassan began his government teaching service in BPS 7, with a monthly salary of Rs. 4,500, in 2007. He was fortunate to get two promotions within four years of his service. His first promotion from BPS 7 to 9 in 2009 was a result of the upgrading of all teachers in BPS 7 to 9. This promotion increased his monthly salary to Rs. 15,000. Hassan's second promotion from BPS 9 to 14 in 2011 was similar to the first promotion, in that the government upgraded all teachers at BPS 9 to BPS 14,

hence, Hassan got promoted automatically. His second promotion nearly doubled his monthly salary to Rs. 29,000. Since 2011, Hassan has not been promoted but he has been receiving annual salary increments and his monthly salary has gradually increased to Rs. 38,000 in 2019. Figure 10 presents Hassan's promotions and monthly salary for his 12 years government service as a primary school teacher.

Figure 10

Hassan's Promotions and Monthly Salary



Hassan is one of the most transferred teachers among all the teachers interviewed for this research. Hassan's case is unique, as he had been transferred seven times during his 12 years of service. On the contrary, the other two teachers at GBPS – the first teacher with 18 years of service and the second teacher with 2 years of service – have never been transferred outside their own village school.

Since there was no government school in his village, Hassan was recruited as a government teacher for a vacant position in a primary school for boys in a remote village. He stayed at a relative's home in the remote village and joined his new teaching job. Three days after joining his service, he was transferred due to a shortage of teachers at a middle school for boys in another remote village. Hassan's school was far away from his home and he had to walk at least two and half hours each way to reach the school in the remote valley. It was not possible for Hassan to walk every day; therefore, he decided to stay at the school and walk back to his home only on weekends. Hassan, along with two other non-local teachers, lived in one room at the school for nearly one year. Hassan described his experiences during the initial period of appointment in remote schools, away from his family and home:

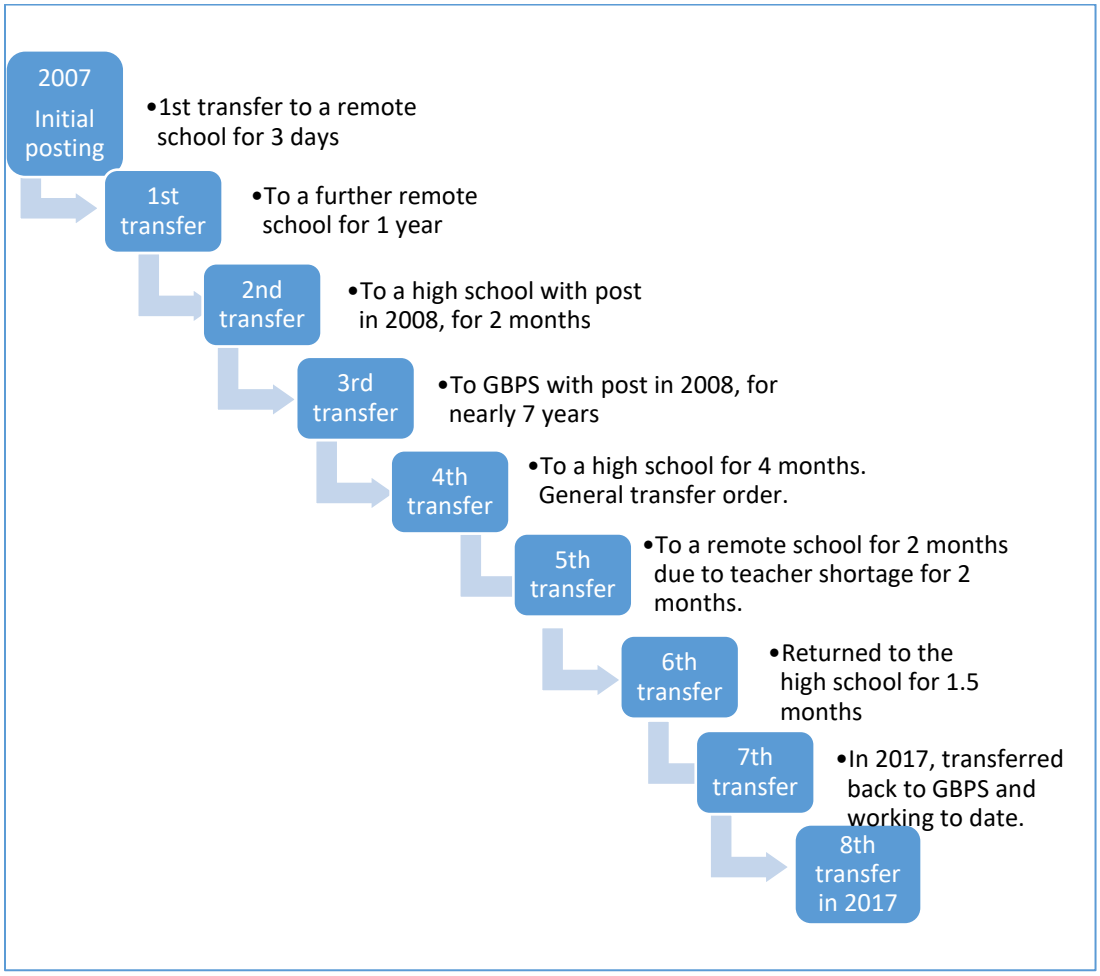
> I worked in the primary school [where he was initially appointed] for three days but then transferred to a further remote village due to a shortage of teachers there. I worked there for one year...[W]e were three non-local teachers. The headmaster was also from another village. Another TGT [trained graduate teacher] and I were non-locals... Sometimes we travelled back on Sunday afternoon but sometimes we left early mornings on Mondays...Initially, we didn't feel any pain [for long walk and living in a remote school room] as we were newly appointed and happy for getting the job. We arrived at school earlier than the local teachers...We took fruits, tea, cooking oil, sugar [from home to the remote school] and hence stayed there for a year. It was good to stay there but distance from home was long.

Hassan highly respects the local community of the remote village where he lived in the school building. “We had support. Most of them were our relatives and they welcomed us and respected us more than our own village.” Most of the children in the government school were poor, since those who were able to afford the fee were enrolled in a private school in the remote village.

In the second transfer, Hassan left the remote village and come to a high school in a village close to his home. The second transfer was initiated by a teacher originally from the remote village who wanted to transfer his post to his own village, so Hassan agreed for the mutual transfer with post to the high school. Within two months, Hassan was transferred again to the GBPS in Mountain Village. The reason was similar to the previous transfer; that is, a non-local teacher from GBPS wanted to be posted close to his home and Hassan agreed for the mutual transfer with post to GBPS in 2008. In the next seven years, Hassan remained posted at the GBPS in Mountain Village, but then the DD ordered a general transfer and Hassan was transferred to a high school in the neighboring village. After four months at the high school, the DD transferred Hassan through verbal orders temporarily to a remote school due to a shortage of teachers. Hassan returned to the high school after working in the remote school for two months, only to be transferred again after one and half months to GBPS in Mountain Village in 2017. A timeline of Hassan’s frequent transfers during his career of 12 years of government service is presented in Figure 11.

Figure 11

Hassan's Eight Transfers in Ten Years



An examination of Figure 11 shows that the eight times transfer during ten years of service is unusually high, especially when compared to another teacher with 18 years of service at GBPS with no transfer at all. However, a close examination of the information in figure 11 reveals that all the transfers, except GBPS, were for a very short period of time. He worked at GBPS for 7 years during his first ten years of service and then again transferred to GBPS, where he had been working for the last 2

years when I interviewed him in 2019. Hassan explained the reasons for some of his transfers:

> The other teacher who originally belonged to that remote village tried and got transferred...[I]t was a mutual transfer with post [teaching position], so it was changed. Then, the [teacher] from the neighboring village got transferred with post from here to the school in his village, so I came here with post. He tried because he had to travel long distance. I agreed to DD's [deputy director's] advice to join this school. Last year, I was transferred again to a remote village due to a shortage of teachers there… One transfer was mutual and then from here there was a general transfer to the high school in the neighboring village. Then, the DD used to be my relative, so he told me other teachers create problems if transferred. So, he asked me, "brother you go there for a short time and I will bring you back here… The second transfer [was] verbal. I accepted verbal order and joined the school and then came back again after someone else was sent there. Then again at the time of transfer to this school, he [the DD] told me, "brother the other teacher has been difficult with frequent requests for transfer and he has problems due to distance. Will you go there as your distance is less." I said, "yes, I accept your order. Whoever didn't accept, it's up to them but I accept orders." If there was injustice, then I would have thought, with blessings of God, I have never been transferred as punishment.

Hassan's understanding of the reasons for his frequent transfers was interesting and different from the common perception and literature. Generally, transfers are

commonly perceived as politically driven or used as punishment for non-obedience or requested by the teacher. A study in another province of Pakistan found that teachers "appointments, transfers, placements and promotions are decided on [the basis of] nepotism, corruption and political affiliations rather than on merit. In many cases teachers are posted in remote areas, faced with accommodation and transportation problems" (Saeed et al., 2013, p. 169). In the case of Hassan, the reasons for some of his transfers were opposite to the common perceptions and the literature on transfer. Hassan reported that he never requested education officers for his transfers. Hassan believes that the reason for some of the transfers was that he was an obedient staff and accepted transfer orders without any complaints. Therefore, the education office,- who was Hassan's relative, had more trust in Hassan and requested his support as a "brother." In some instances, Hassan was transferred to the remote schools to fill a teacher shortage, where other transfers won't go easily. Moreover, Hassan not only followed transfer order from the DD but supported the DD when he consulted Hassan as a "brother." This support from a subordinate to a supervisor from the same tribe, by helping supervisor in filling teacher shortage in remote areas, is a finding different from the literature which shows opposite trends.

Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

Hassan never got an opportunity to pursue a degree at a university as a regular student, but he was interested to continue his education and succeeded in getting a B.A. and then a B.Ed. degree. Even before starting his teaching career, Hassan completed the B.Ed. while working as a technician. "I studied there, and it was better than my home and I always had books with me. I already had a B.A. and started that

job due to financial problems, so it was a great opportunity to study there. I filled my assignments and completed my B.Ed. with good marks in second division." A B.Ed. degree helped Hassan to get a government teaching job as a professional qualification was prerequisite. Hassan started his M.Ed. through distance learning while working as a full time inservice government teacher and completed his M.Ed. in 2018, though he was still waiting for the degree certificate when I interviewed him in March 2019. Hassan had to write assignments and then attend a workshop at the end of each semester in the city. When he had to go for M.Ed. workshops, his classes in the remote village suffered as there were no substitute teachers in government schools.

Hassan thinks that his preservice training experiences helped him learn about new teaching methods though the degree programs were not specifically addressing challenges faced by teachers in rural schools such as multigrade teaching. Explaining his teaching methods including multigrade teaching, Hassan noted:

> For multigrade, we keep them [students] either inside the classroom or outside. We share a topic. While managing time, we give 10-20 minutes to one class and then 10-20 minutes to the other class. While keeping one class busy, we teach the other class. We teach one class, then assign an activity to them and then teach the second class… We prepare lesson plan in our mind for primary classes. We have multigrade classes. We don't have time to prepare lesson plans for every class; therefore, keeping in view the concept of lesson plan and teach. We ask students about previous lessons. What did we study yesterday? Which activities? Likewise, we transition to the topic… First, we share comprehension of the topic. Then we read the lesson aloud.

> After reading, we ask questions, words, and if they fail to answer, we read again. In case of Urdu and English, we ask them to read one by one. In other subjects, we don't have time for all students for reading, so we share general comprehension, sometimes with meanings.

Similar to the case of other teachers, Hassan pointed out the issue of multiple language use in the school. Hassan uses the local language, Shina, in early grades, and he uses Urdu for students in upper grades, but language switching is common. Some textbooks are in English, some textbooks are in Urdu, while the official language of instruction is Urdu, and students use the local language, Shina, as the language of the playground. Hassan is flexible on language use, as he noted: "we use [a language] depending on the needs. We use Urdu but students use their mother tongue mostly. We explain mostly in Urdu...we use Shina in early grades."

Inservice Training and Influences

At the time of starting his teaching career at a remote government school, Hassan had no orientation or induction training. Hassan had to reach the school on the first day of appointment and start teaching right from day one without any briefing or training. After one year of his appointment, Hassan participated in a one-week training on teaching methodology at the best private training institution, PDCN Gilgit. The short training was a residential training combined with sessions at a model school. Hassan remembers that he was inspired by the trainer and overall training was very useful. In the training, Hassan visited a school where two teachers were teaching in one class, in stark contrast to the context of government schools where one teacher had to teach two or three classes using multigrade methods. Hassan believes that he

was unable to implement the training even until now, primarily because of the his multigrade teaching context caused by the shortage of teachers in his school.

In 2011, Hassan was nominated by the government for a training funded by Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The one-week training focused on content in English, Urdu and Pakistan Studies. Hassan's third training was held in 2017 by the Education Department and the training focused again on content in English, Urdu, Pakistan Studies and Maths. Hassan' didn't mention any noticeable influence of his second and third trainings.

The most recent training Hassan participated in was during 2016-18 through USAID funded Pakistan Reading Project. Hassan participated in a 12-day workshop and then the training facilitators visited Hassan's classes twice as part of a follow-up. Hassan considers this last training the most influential inservice training he has received and believes that school-based follow up and provision of relevant materials for both teachers and students made training more effective. Hassan reported the influence of this training on his early grade reading teaching approach: "Previously, we told them [students] pronunciation of words but didn't tell them phonics of each [letter]. We were reading lesson and repeating any difficult words. Now we teach using clapping, phonics of each [letter], shapes and stories, writing and other techniques."

Besides the above-mentioned four inservice trainings, Hassan participated in a one-day awareness raising workshop held at the GBPS on avalanches held several days prior to my interview with him in March 2019. There have been no other

trainings focused on the mountain environment and the context of remote schools where he has been working for the last twelve years.

Challenges and Barriers for Teachers

Lack of Training Opportunities.

Hassan pointed out that teachers living in rural areas do not get many training opportunities. “This is rural area and we are not updated. In cities there are more opportunities even from NGOs. People approach government officials in cities and make efforts and find training opportunities, but here we don’t get any such opportunities.” In his routine, Hassan finds only half an hour during break to discuss teaching problems with his two other colleagues. “During break time, we have half an hour free time to have tea and discuss these issues.” After school, Hassan finds no free time for any professional discussions with other teachers as he has to walk one hour back to his village and then engage in farming activities as most of the villagers do. Hassan highlighted the challenges teachers face while working and living in remote villages:

> This is a rural area and we don’t have the opportunities which teachers find in the cities. We don’t have internet facility and we don’t have interactions with highly qualified people or NGOs or in those [communities…[W]e get less opportunities for further education. Knowledge of education is enhanced by reading books. But knowledge of nature is more in the village, as we are engaged in activities [agricultural, close to nature]. For example, we use our own hands for farming and gain practical understanding, compared to someone doing reading on farming.

Hassan's Support to Family and Subsistence Farming

Hassan owns a small piece of land and grows potatoes and vegetables. In addition, he has an orchard with fruit trees, including apricot and grapes. Once his school time is over, Hassan walks one hour back to his village and then helps his wife in farming activities. Hassan described his engagements after school:

> This is rural area, so after schools we work at home. Farming and cattle raising, plantation… We keep fruit for our own consumption and then sell extra fruits. Recently, I have grown trees on some barren land, so trees are still small and [there is] not much to sell… We grow mostly potatoes [and] vegetables but no chicken. Chickens are not beneficial. We have cows, so we get milk and we don't buy milk from outside."

In addition, Hassan teaches and supervises his children at home as his wife is not educated. A transfer to remote schools where Hassan had to live away from home directly affected his family, because his wife would have additional burden of farming and his eight children were left with no educational support at home. Hassan identified the disadvantages of living away in remote schools:

> The disadvantage was to be away. At [one's] home location, one can do other tasks after school. This is rural area and after school we engage in farming, cattle and other activities at home. This was not possible when I was appointed in a remote school and I was unable to guide my own children. The children were left at home without any educated elder... I teach them [children] and when I am away from home, there is loss for my children, since I [cannot] help them.

Gender Dimension

Comparing male and female teachers, Hassan clearly observed that male teachers are disadvantaged, since they can easily be transferred to remote locations away from their home locations. When a male teacher lives away from home in remote schools, the teacher's family is adversely affected with more burden on the wife and, at least in the case of his family, children getting no educational support. On the contrary, women teachers remain at the schools in their village and they are not transferred away from home to remote locations, because of local cultural barriers as well as government policy restricting women transfer from their family locations.

Hassan further mentioned economic responsibilities as another disadvantage for a male teacher in a traditional mountain society. Citing his situation as the head of a household with ten family members and being the sole wage-earning member, Hassan believed male teachers were more concerned about earning responsibilities and transfer to remote schools, compared to female teachers. He stated, "the main challenge for a male teacher is frequent transfer to remote areas. Also, a male teacher is more worried due to economic situations."

Hassan identified some advantages for male teachers. For example, a male teacher has more freedom for travelling outside the village. "As a male teacher, I can ride my motorbike and travel, while women cannot. In our community, they [females] have more restrictions, because they may not travel alone to go for training, as restricted in our religion. A male is free and can travel anywhere for trainings. These are the issues."

Overall, Hassan is satisfied with his job and rural life in the mountain areas. "I have been teaching for more than a decade now, and I have not had even one day of boredom and I have been happily doing my job… Any subject assigned to me, I try my best to teach with interest." He remains content and attributes his successful teaching career to Allah and thanked by saying "this is all the blessing of Allah."

Case 3: Mr. Raza

Profile

Raza, aged 48, is the head teacher of GBPS and one of the most experienced teachers in the village. Raza is a resident of Mountain Village and lives with his mother, wife and three children. After completing Grade 5 in his village's primary school, Raza had to walk to another village to access high school for the next five years. With no earnings in the village, Raza and his father had to struggle hard to pay for Raza's schooling expenses. There was no school beyond Grade 10 in the whole valley, so he had to leave the village and study Grade 11-12 in Gilgit city, where he lived in a relative's home. Lastly, he travelled to Karachi for two years to pursue a B.A. degree before returning to his village. Since his childhood, Raza's career ambition was in the field of healthcare and he wanted to be a nurse. He completed a short diploma course in nursing, while he was pursuing a B.A. degree in Karachi. Unlike other teachers at GBPS, teaching was not the first choice of profession for Raza. He started his teaching career as this was the only government job available in his valley. Although Raza didn't find any regular job opportunities in his preferred profession of nursing, he continues to practice nursing as a part-time private practitioner and owns a medical store in the village.

Raza has played an important role in promoting girls' education in his village. He is one of the founding teachers to establish the first primary school for girls and then a community coaching center for high school girls. He has taught voluntarily at these two community schools for several years and without any salary for three years. He joined GBPS eighteen years ago as a government regular teacher at BPS 7 level and then was promoted several times to reach his current pay scale of BPS 16. He has the highest grade and pay at GBPS and has never been transferred to any schools outside his village. Raza is actively participating in community initiatives and currently holds the position of Vice President of the Government Teachers Association for his district. With over 23 years of teaching experience, including 18 years in government service and active participation in teacher union, Raza is an accomplished teacher and highly respected by other teachers and community.

Early Schooling Experience and Interest in Teaching

Raza's parents were not educated, and his father was reluctant to enroll him in the primary school. Raza's grandfather was a religious leader and encouraged Raza to get enrolled in the primary school. After completing Grade 5 in his village's primary school, Raza had to walk two hours each way to reach his high school in another village for the next five years. Distance to his high school was long and walking especially during cold winters without good shoes was painful for Raza. He remembered the difficulties he faced while walking to the high school:

> We walked daily and we had no comfortable shoes. Our shoes were broken, plastic shoes hurting our feet and we didn't have any socks. Sometimes we walked barefoot, and on the way [to school] we burned bush to warm our

> hands and feet. And, finally, after two to three stops [one the way], we would reach our school. Some senior students would carry their exhausted younger relatives on their backs, while walking to school. There was no hotel on the way, so we carried *phiti* [local bread] to eat... We were hungry when returning back to home, so we walked very fast or ran and to reach home [quickly] in 45 minutes to one hour. This continued till Grade 10.

Subsistence agriculture was the primary source of livelihood and cash was scarcely available at Raza's village. The majority of the population was poor and, therefore, paying any kind of fee to school was difficult for parents. Raza shared the difficulties he and his family faced to pay non-tuition related fees at the government school. All students in Raza's high school were required to deposit a registration fee of Rs. 300 (US$2) for Grade 10 examination. Raza had no money at home and Raza insisted with his father to arrange the fee. Initially Raza's father asked him to drop out of school, because they had no money to pay the examination fee. However, eventually his father supported him though a painstaking laborious work of cutting birch paper from trees on the mountains and then carrying them on his back to sell in a town. Raza shared how poverty and remoteness affected him and how he and his father had to struggle to arrange for only the Rs. 300 (US$2) to pay registration fee in the government high school:

> I had to submit my Grade 10 examination forms along with a fee of Rs. 300, and I asked my father for fees. He asked others [neighbors] for help, but no one gave him Rs. 300… We asked relatives but didn't get [money] from anywhere. Next day, he [my father] said, "son, let's go to [the mountains to]

> bring birch tree cover." Its [tree's] cover is like paper and it used to be sold for 600 [Rupees] per 40 kilograms. We went to the forest… It's around 3 hours [one-way trek to the mountains]. [W]e went there and collected [birch] tree cover. He [father] and I had two big loads on our backs and then we were [embarrassed] to bring the loads through the main street in the village. These things have happened in life. Had we walked through the main street people would have seen us so [to avoid people seeing us] we used a different path beside the village… We arrived near our village at the time of *Azaan* [prayer call at sunset]. My grandfather was a notable religious leader, so people might say his children were doing this [carrying loads on back to sell due to poverty]. [Therefore,] my father didn't feel comfortable walking through the village. We used an alternative path and reached a town at night and sold both loads weighing around 43 KG… We sold [our loads] for [Rs.] 630 and returned late night [to our home]. And next day I submitted 300 [US$2] [to cover the] examination fees.

Raza's case presents some of the barriers poor students face to pay fees other than tuition in government schools which are considered free public schools. Raza's difficulties to access and pay for education continued until he completed his B.A. and B.Ed. Raza had to live in a relative' home in the city of Gilgit to complete his Grade 11-12, as there was no school after Grade 10 in his entire valley. After Grade 12, Raza decided to leave the region and go to the city of Karachi to continue his education, but he had no money to travel to Karachi. Again, his father had to go to the mountains for back breaking laborious work of cutting and carrying large logs down

to the village for sale. Raza still remembers the painful work his father did to earn money required for Raza's travel to the city of Karachi:

> At the time when I was leaving for Karachi, my father had to cut down [trees in the mountains] and he prepared 17 wooden logs from the forest… Only one log [could be] prepared in one whole day, to go there [up to the mountain], cut the tree, drag and carry the log down to the village… There was a contractor here in the village and he bought one [log] for [Rs.] 500 [US$ 4]. We sold those and [I] used that money to travel to Karachi. These are the issues in rural life; no boy from a city will experience this.

Raza's experience of his early education school teachers was not very positive. He recalled his memories:

> Our teachers used to discourage us in public speaking. I was a scared and a shy child. One of my uncles was a teacher and he used to ask me to stand on a table and speak. He banged the table and I got scared, [and] then all kids were laughing, and I felt uncomfortable and bad. He continued that for a year or two, resulting in my fear to speak in public. I reflect that my hesitation in public speaking resulted from that childhood experience. I was scared of him [his uncle, the teacher]. I didn't go in front [for public speaking] in high school [and] I hesitated at the college level. My hesitation reduced after the experience of being a union member and participating in trainings.

Raza did not mention any teacher as his positive role models, and he did not attribute his interest in teaching to his own teachers.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

Raza shared his experiences of social pressure to get employed and the incidents which made nursing a lifetime passion for Raza:

> We were 17 classmates from my village, and all except me joined military [as soldiers]. So, I was the only person at home with no job. My father didn't like it and said: "You are scared of going out for a job and all others [my classmates] are helping parents through jobs." I didn't go to military service due to my interest in further education... I remained unemployed for another two years, searching for jobs without any success. Since my childhood, I was interested in the profession of nursing and I tried but didn't get any opportunity in Gilgit...In [Grade 12] before my admission [in B.A.], my younger brother, who was in Grade 7, died. He died due to non-availability of treatment [basic health facilities]. He was suffering from typhoid without access to any medical facilities. He was carried on back and taken to a neighboring town but there was no doctor available in that health facility, and finally next day they moved him to Gilgit, where he died without getting timely medical attention...

Raza believed that his contribution as a part-time nurse practitioner fills a much-needed gap in the village due to the acute shortage of basic health services for the poor villagers. Raza's medical skills are valuable particularly for his mother who has high blood pressure and for the sick members of the community who are unable to travel outside the village for health care. Raza clearly explained the significance of his nursing practice:

> This is a backward area and if there is no one [trained nurse], then people would suffer...At this time, I am the sole provider of medical services in this village and serve people day and night, without any service fees. I give drips and injections. God has given me a talent and I serve these poor people.

Raza was not inspired by his own teachers nor was teaching his preferred profession, but he entered the teaching profession only because there was no job opportunity in the health sector. “Teaching was not my first preference, but I entered it as a source of livelihood. I was interested in the field of medicine but didn't get opportunities.” Raza explained how he began working as a volunteer teacher and developed motivation to teach poor children in his village:

> I was never interested in the field of education. When I got admission into B.Ed. and then we got assurance that teaching as a volunteer might get me a teaching job. Instead of being unemployed at home, I thought it would be better to teach voluntarily, and get prayers from children of poor families. We followed the advice of our teachers and served as a volunteer teacher for seven years, resulting in a new motivation to join the teaching profession.

In 1996, Raza started his teaching career as a volunteer teacher in the first community primary school for girls in Mountain Village, and then succeeded in getting a government regular teaching position in BPS 7 in 2001. During the government recruitment process, Raza had to approach politicians and government officials to seek their advice and support for his selection. Since he had a B.A. and a B.Ed. degree, he applied for a higher pay scale teaching job of BPS 14, but he also applied for BPS 7 in case he failed to get BPS 14. He followed the advice of his mentors [a

politician and officials] and appeared for the test and interview for only BPS 7, and finally he got selected. Raza shared the complex process of recruitment and his engagements with politicians and officials:

> So, we went to Gilgit for test [for the teaching position of BPS 14] and I met the MNA[5] [a politician] of our area. He said, "you are a union member and why are you here for the test." I responded that "I need [this job]; you should find a solution." An official of the Education Department was accompanying the MNA and he inquired about the teaching positions I have applied for. I told him: "I have applied for 7 as well as 14 scale." He [the official] checked a file and said that "there is only one position for scale 14 in our area and someone is already selected [for the vacancy], so you should appear for the test for 7 [BPS]. And then I will create a position in your village and there will be a chance for you." I followed their advice. The MNA suggested that I would not get a scale 14 job, so I should try for scale 7... So, I followed their advice and the education official said: "someone has already been selected for the one position [teaching vacancy], perhaps due to personal connections." If I fail in the test for scale 14, then I will be automatically dropped for scale 7 as well, according to the rules under the monitoring cell of the military. Later, I took the test for scale 7 on 21st March... [and] passed the test [and then] got an interview letter.

[5] MNA is abbreviation of member national assembly. Political elected representatives in GB are members of a local assembly and not the national assembly of Pakistan, but people still call them MNA.

Raza continued sharing his experience of the recruitment process and explained how a panel member supported him to get selected during the interview, though Raza believes he was selected because of his high qualifications and teaching experience:

> When I entered [the room for interview], I saw an influential panel member I already knew. He called my name and didn't ask me any questions [related to the teaching interview] and only inquired "why did you come here?" I responded that "you have invited me [for the interview]" and then he said, "You should leave it [teaching] because you are a member [elected for local union council]." I requested "I need this [teaching job]." He asked me if I have a B.Ed. and experience. I showed him documents from my file. Then, he advised the education director to keep me [recruit me as a teacher] and the director indicated positively after checking a file. He then told me that "you are selected, and you can go [home] with no worries." The only thing I said was that "I am left with three months for being overage for a government job." He replied that "it's done [job given to me]. I said, "thank you" and left the interview room.

Raza got selected for BPS 7 teaching position at GBPS in Mountain Village. Similar to the experiences of other teachers, Raza didn't get any formal orientation and there was no proper system for induction in remote schools. When Raza joined the government service, he had to started teaching using multigrade methods as there were only two teachers for the primary school. Raza further shared about his first teaching experience at the GBPS:

> We got a letter [appointment order] and started teaching directly in the class… We didn't get any proper orientation, though the head teacher gave some suggestions... [T]here were only two classrooms [at GBPS] with students from five grades. One classroom had two classes, while the other had three classes. There were just two teachers, so one teacher had to manage three classes simultaneously. When we joined, we were given classes and asked to teach students while sitting under the walnut tree.

Teacher Deployment and Promotions

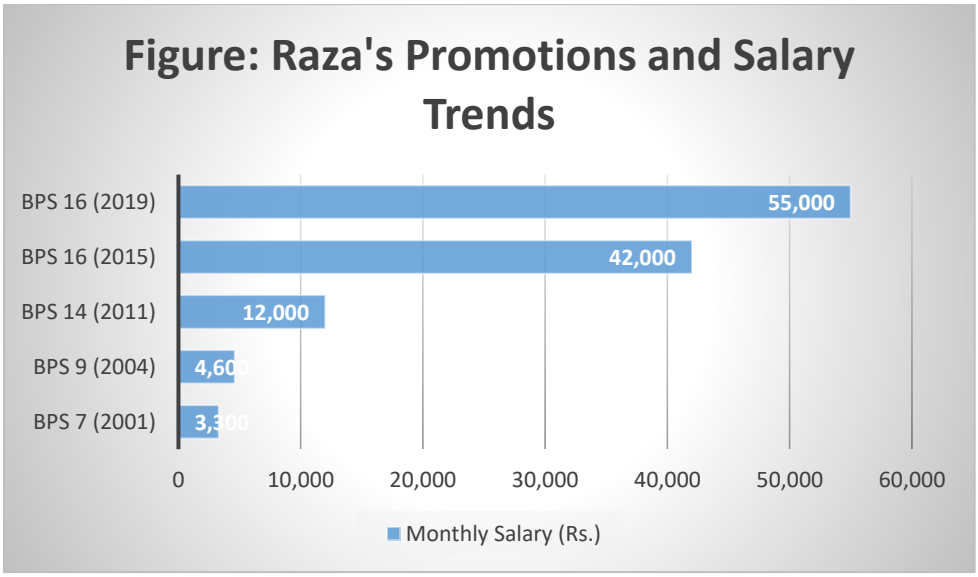
Raza was recruited in BPS 7 as an elementary school teacher for the GBPS in 2001 and then promoted three times during his 18-year career in government service. The first promotion was through a test and Raza got promoted to BPS 9 in 2004. The second promotion was automatic, as BPS 9 was abolished and upgraded to BPS 14 in 2011 by the government; all teachers including Raza were promoted to BPS 14. Raza's third and last promotion was based on seniority (length of teaching experience) and qualifications (M.A. and M.Ed. were given preference) and he was promoted to BPS 16. Although, Raza was promoted for a position based at a school in another village, he continued teaching at GBPS and finally his post was adjusted at GGMS in his own village. Currently, his salary is drawn from GGMS, but he is physically working at GBPS, as per orders from the Education Department. Raza has never been deployed outside his village and worked at GBPS during his entire career of 18 years government service. He reported, "I have never gone anywhere as my posts are all adjusted here. All posts, 7, 9, 14, and 16 adjusted here. The position for

16 was in another village but I was adjusted against the post and remained here. During this period, we tried and got my post of 16 to the girls' school."

With his promotion to BPS 16, Raza is now at a higher scale than his fellow teachers from the same cohort. Raza's promotions resulted in a significant increase in his salary and he is one of the highest paid senior teachers at the village. His promotions and salary increase are shown in Figure 12.

Figure 12

Raza's Promotions and Monthly Salary Trend



Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

At the time of teaching at the community school, Raza had completed a B.Ed. degree through distance learning from AIOU in 1999. As part of the B.Ed. program, Raza completed home assignments and participated in a 40-day workshop at Gilgit. Towards the end of his program, he presented model lessons in Urdu, English and Islamiat and a team of three observers graded his presentation. Raza believed that he

had learned some methods from the B.Ed. program, but in general the program was not relevant and useful at the primary level. The B.Ed. degree didn't influence Raza's practice but helped him to get the government regular teaching job. Then after five years of service in the government, he pursued an M.A degree in Education through distance learning from AIOU. His reflections on his M.A. experience was similar to his B.Ed. experience, as neither were very useful for his teaching practice in a rural primary school. He mentioned, "It's the same as I mentioned about B.Ed. Professionally, it's not very useful at primary level, but a good teacher is one who teaches early grades effectively."

The influence of preservice teacher education on Raza's teaching beliefs and practices appear to be minimum. "In our rural context, even a B.Ed. is not sufficient. Now even [someone with a] M.Ed. cannot teach a nursery class as effectively as an ECD teacher. I liked PRP [inservice] training as it's on basics [reading skills]; it's better than B.Ed. and M.Ed."

Inservice Training and Influences

Raza had been a government teacher for 18 years at the time of my interview. In the past, he has worked as a teacher for the first community primary school as well as AKESP-supported coaching center for girls – both in Mountain Village. During his teaching career, most of the inservice training opportunities were provided by NGOs and foreign donor-funded projects.

As a part-time teacher for AKESP coaching center for girls, Raza participated in a 15-day training on teaching mathematics and science, organized by AKESP. A follow-up, 10-day training on teaching science to Grade 6-9 was organized by

AKESP in 2005. However, Raza was unable to complete the last 3 days of the 10-day training due to sectarian violence[6] and curfew in Gilgit city. Raza considered the AKESP training useful for his teaching practice.

Furthermore, in 2017 Raza participated in a training on early grade reading skills organized by the USAID-funded Pakistan Reading Project (PRP). Raza believes that the PRP training was effective and "very useful training," as it was a long-term two-year program combining initial training workshops with school-based follow ups. He noted, "they [the PRP trainers] visited [school] …for follow up. No one else [before PRP] came for follow up. They provided feedback after observations… [T]hey provided big books, reader books, materials to both teachers and students. Video and audio are both available and students find it very interesting. It begins with basics, sounds, comprehension – there is a system. If a student doesn't know basic letters, how could he read Grade 5 reading? Our education system is not paying attention on this."

In addition, Raza has attended a 1-day workshop on disaster management in 2011 and 1-day workshop on avalanches in early 2019. Awareness workshops on disaster management are important for people in mountain areas prone to natural disasters, such as avalanches, landslides and earthquakes. Raza mentioned that no workshop specifically focused on earthquakes has been organized, though he commented positively on the workshop on avalanches: "This is avalanche season, so we organized a workshop for students few days ago. Boys go to mountains to bring

[6] In Gilgit city, the sectarian tensions between Shia and Sunni groups turned into deadly riots, curfew/lockdowns and closure of schools in 2005. See Stöber, (2007). Religious Identities Provoked: The Gilgit 'Textbook Controversy' and its Conflictual Context.

wood, some go for grazing their cattle, they are in danger. So, we invited all and organized an awareness workshop," Raza said.

Challenges and Barriers for Rural Teachers

Teacher Shortage and Local Responses

Raza identified teacher shortage at GBPS as one of the main challenges for teachers. "We try but three teachers have two classes simultaneously [multigrade] without resources and limited time. If you attend to one class, the students of the other class would be ignored. These issues [pause], we have shortage of materials, and for how long we should buy out of our own pocket? We try to use low cost [or] no-cost materials."

Three teachers for seven classes at GBPS makes teaching a difficult job, according to Raza. As discussed above in the case of Ali, the initiative to hire volunteer teachers didn't continue as the community stopped paying the salary without charging a fee from students. Raza doesn't see any possibility in the short term of an increase in hiring additional teachers.

Parents' Background and Indifferent Attitude Towards Government School

Describing the economic background of GBPS students, Raza said: "our students are poor, [those] who could not afford to go to private school...Now we don't charge anything. The government [policy] is that we can't charge anything, it's free. Here in the government school, we have poor children. Those [whose families] have a job, wealth, or can afford to pay fees, [their children] go to the private school." Raza appeared disappointed with the parents and compared the parents' involvement in the government and the private school:

> They [parents] don't know the importance of meeting; neither do they know the importance of boys getting education and progressing. They don't care if their child is studying or not…When we invite, they [parents] don't come to school. They [parents] pay money [fees] to the English [private] school, and go there when invited by a teacher. When I invite, no one comes [to the government school]… I send paper invitation to all homes. I have prints [of invitations]… I tried all my best, but the parents don't cooperate.

Raza shared his observation that all parents go to the private school when invited by any teachers. On the contrary, only 5 or 6 fathers come to the government schools whenever he invites all the parents of 76 students. No mothers have ever joined teacher-parent meetings at GBPS. A possible explanation for non-participation of mothers is high adult illiteracy and patriarchy, and not necessarily a lack of interest in their children's education. No females have ever been included in the School Management Committee (SMC) of GBPS.

Multigrade Teaching and the Relevance of Training

Raza reported that he received no training on multigrade teaching. Although multigrade was part of B.Ed. content, Raza developed his own multigrade methods through experience and practice. Raza briefly shared his multigrade teaching methods. "First, we ask an intelligent student from a senior class to control a junior class, by keeping children quiet and engaging in home work. We teach the senior class first and then assign the senior class to a monitor [student] to keep the class under control." Raza further shared his methods to control the class during multigrade teaching: "First we try [to control students] softly but if someone is making too many

problems, then we have to be strict... [If someone disturbs the class,] we send them outside the classroom, and they stand there." Raza added that in the past he used to discipline students with a stick, but a few years ago he stopped hitting anyone, after reading guidance from Islamic Sharia:

> [In the past] we had to be stricter... One [stick] hit on one hand and one on the other hand [of students to be disciplined]. Not more than that...I have stopped using stick in the last two to three years...I was punishing them in the past like that [slapping their face], but I read a book which said "it's not allowed to hit anyone on face, in Sharia." Unknowingly, I made that mistake before but not now. I restrict other teachers as well not to hit students.

Raza suggests that multigrade teaching will end only after recruiting more teachers at GBPS. Discussing relevance of training and materials, Raza highlighted the issue of local languages and environment. He mentioned that one of the Education Department officials invited him for a meeting on developing textbooks in local languages. Raza understands the significance of teaching early grade children in local languages, but he thinks that the development of textbooks in local languages requires a serious effort for a long period and a few days of workshop cannot result in good textbooks.

Another issue raised by Raza was a lack of awareness and materials about the local environment. "Our students go to other areas. If they read a topic on our places in a book, then there will be more interest. We go to other glaciers; we have our own glaciers, mountains and greenery but there is a lack of awareness. There should be books." Since the Education Department of GB has no textbook development unit, all

the government schools use textbooks developed in other provinces of Pakistan. In some of the textbooks, the region of GB is not represented or there is a lack appropriate content relevant to GB.

Remoteness and Lack of Opportunities

Raza perceives remoteness as the factor resulting in a lack of opportunities for teachers in Mountain Village:

> We don't have opportunities here. For example, when a teacher is gone, we don't get any [substitute] teacher. In our school, if one of us goes, then only two teachers are left. So, I am not happy in that situation, but these are our limitations. Moreover, if I have to go [for a training], my family situation limits my ability to travel, because if I leave home, then there is no one [male family member] back home. Even if I get an opportunity, I'll try not to go. Also, sometimes we get information late when the training dates have already passed, since the DD doesn't send the letters by mail but by hand [with someone]… [For instance,] in 2014, this happened for SST [Social Studies] training in PDCN [Professional Development Center, North]. They sent a letter for training, DDO gave the letter to a shopkeeper, saying "give the letter to the head teacher of our school." The shopkeeper kept the letter in his shop and went somewhere and by the time we got the letter, the training date was over. This way opportunities are lost because of our remote location.

Distance is another issue for Raza. "Sometimes, we reach late for training due to long travel time. We had to go to a neighboring village to get transportation to reach the district headquarter and by the time we reached, the session was over."

Raza further described the difficulties for a rural teacher:

> We have rural environment; contrary to cities, we don't have computers, no internet, no timely access to health facilities. We need to go to cities for health, we need to go to cities for higher education. It would be better if we have a college or university in our area.

The Gender Dimension: Advantages and Disadvantages for Male and Female Teachers

It is commonly perceived that women are restricted to travel outside their homes and villages in traditional patriarchal societies. Contrary to this common perception, men in some situations are restricted to travel because they cannot leave female family members alone back home. Conformity to societal norms and expectations is important for all members of the society and teachers are no exceptions. Raza indicated that his family situation restricts his travel outside the village, even though he is a male teacher. His teaching career spanning over twenty years has been restricted to schools within the village and he has never been transferred to another school outside the village, unlike other male senior teachers. Raza shared his family situation requiring him to stay at the village:

> I am the only male member in my home, no brother, no father, no son. I have three daughters, my mother and my wife. If I travel, they [female family members] get worried. My mother is ill with high blood pressure. I check her blood pressure and help her in taking medications. I can't leave home due to these issues...

However, sometimes Raza has no option other than to leave the village for an important official task. In those exceptional situations when Raza had to travel outside the village, he requested a close relative to stay at his home.

Raza acknowledged male privilege and historical advantages for male teachers in the village. He acknowledged that "there were no female teachers, so we got all these opportunities [e.g. teaching jobs]." Also, he believes that female teachers are restricted due to traditional norms and expectations:

> The traditions of the area matter. A female teacher will not be allowed to be interviewed like this [meaning being alone with a male interviewer]. These are the issues for female... Yesterday, you might have noticed that female teachers hesitated. This shouldn't be the case for educated people [female teachers]. You are here for a good thing and we share information and it's a good opportunity for us. All areas have their own traditions. You cannot go to a school [for girls] where all teachers are female. If you go, they will cover their face [veil].

Raza Promoting Girls' Education in the Village

Raza has played a key role in promoting girls' education in his village. He is one of the first male teachers to help the community establish the first primary school for girls in 1996. There was no school for girls in the village before 1996; therefore, female literacy rates were extremely low. Raza has faced pressure from conservative community members who opposed the establishment of a school for girls. Raza

described the barriers for girls' education and removing some of the barriers through consistent efforts to establish and sustain a community school for girls.

> The community school started after 1996. A lot of people resisted girls' education and they asked us "what are our motives behind educating girls?" They came to fight with us…We started the school in someone's home…for a monthly rent of Rs. 50... So, we tried and enrolled 23 female students and started from nursery. Some elders from community came and said, "get out." We said we are paying rent, but they said, "we don't need rent" and as they were influential elders, they convinced the home owner not to support us.

Raza along with other community members in support of the school didn't close the school after getting evicted from the first home. Their consistency and perseverance resulted in sustaining a community school for the later years, as Raza elaborated their struggles after getting evicted from the first home:

> There was a barn without a roof, owned by my relative. We covered the roof and made a temporary shelter, where the school continued for the next few months. That year, children passed in the exam and the next year more girls enrolled. Then, we approached the religious leaders and got their permission to run the school at *Imambara* [a congregation hall for Twelver Shia Muslims]. Meanwhile, an Austrian donor came to our village and she donated the [funds for a] building for the girls' school. We, the education committee requested her support. She asked for a piece of land [from the community] for the school. So, we talked to the [potential] land owner, who demanded either a job or rent for giving his land for the school. We could not give him a job,

> since it was not a government school. So, we made an agreement for a monthly rent to be paid by the community. The agreement was attested from the court, rent was Rs. 2,500 for total 10 *marla* land. Once we gave her [the donor] the land agreement papers, she started the construction of the school…We moved to the [new] building in 1999.

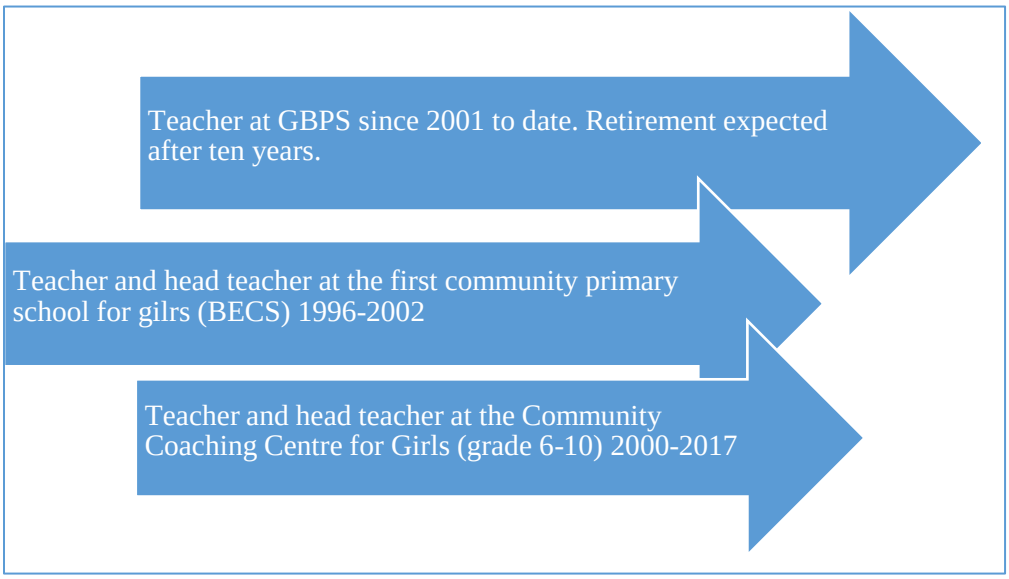
Raza continued leading the community school for girls until 2015. He had been supporting two community schools for girls – one was the primary school and the other one was the AKESP supported coaching center for Grade 6-10, but this institution was closed in 2017, as discussed in the next section.

Raza's Multiple Roles and Responsibilities in the Village

Winters in Mountain Village are cold and mostly people stay indoors with no agricultural activities. Most of the villagers find winter season slow and relaxing with less workload. The workload and responsibilities for Raza continued all year round due to his multiple roles and active engagements. At the time of my interviews, he was teaching at GBPS, but in the past two decades he had taught in the community managed primary school for girls (BECS) as well as in the AKESP-supported coaching center for girls, as shown in Figure 13.

Figure 13

Raza's Teaching Career in Multiple Schools



In addition, he has actively participated in teacher union activities as the Vice President for his district. He had represented the teacher union to pursue court cases for teachers' promotions and other benefits.

Besides his engagements in education, he continued practicing nursing at his shop as well as at home, where he provides first-aid and basic health services to people in need. Furthermore, he provides medicine to treat animals as a veterinary specialist.

Another important role played by Raza is the role of a "traditional healer," a role he inherited from his grandfather – a renowned religious leader and healer in the village.

Lastly, Raza had to take care of his family as the only male member of the family and head of household. Raza noted that he avoids travelling outside the village

because there is no other male member at home. He regularly checks the blood pressure of his elderly mother and supports his wife in maintaining home and livestock. Furthermore, he ensures the schooling of his three daughters, assisting them with their studies.

Raza is an extraordinary person with a successful teaching career and fulfilling multiple responsibilities. He is well respected by other teachers and community members. Most of the teachers, especially the female teachers, had been Raza's students. Raza's life and work in Mountain Village is a strong case showing complexities, multiple roles, difficulties and successes in a rural context.

CHAPTER 7: MALE AND FEMALE TEACHERS AT THE GOVERNMENT GIRLS MIDDLE SCHOOL: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.

This chapter presents findings and analysis from the interviews of two male teachers and three female teachers at the Government Girls Middle School (GGMS). Each teacher is an individual case. A brief description of each individual case is followed with a detailed discussion and analysis of findings categorized under the main themes.

Case 4: Ms. Fatima

Profile

Fatima, aged 22, was born and raised in Mountain Village. She has been working as a volunteer teacher at the GGMS for the last three years at the time of the interview in 2019. In her first year of teaching, she didn't get any salary and then she stated getting salary from the second year onwards, with a current monthly salary of Rs. 3,000 (US$21). In addition to teaching at GGMS, Fatima was a volunteer religious education teacher at village's madrassa for three years between 2014 and 2017.

Fatima's early schooling was at her own village community school for girls and then she had to walk to another village for two years to complete Grade 11-12. Fatima was inspired by her school teachers and gained interest in the teaching profession after observing her own school teachers. Her preservice teacher education includes a one-year certificate in teaching (CT). Fatima's ambition is to further improve her education in a university, but she was unable to travel to a city due to economic constraints as well as restrictions from her family to leave the village.

Early Schooling Experience and Interest in Teaching

Fatima was one of the first educated person in her home. Her parents, one brother and one sister were not educated. Fatima's older brother was educated but he died. Fatima shared that now "I am the first educated person in the family. Now my two younger brothers and four sisters are in schools…My older sister had to leave school [drop out], because all other younger siblings were studying." Her parents are engaged in subsistence agriculture in the village and one of her brothers financed the education of other siblings, using his income from a government job.

Fatima started her schooling at the age of eight years when she was admitted directly to Grade 2 in the community school for girls in her village. After primary school, she continued her schooling at the community coaching center for girls in Mountain Village. Fatima was inspired by her teachers and she attributes her interest in teaching profession especially to one of her teachers:

> When we enrolled in school, we observed our teachers. While we were at very early age, ... there was a teacher in our coaching center, named Raza, who is now in Boys Primary School. His teaching method was very good, and he was a very competent teacher. We wished to be a teacher like him...We liked his behavior...For example, Sir [Mr. Raza] was teaching Mathematics, his method of teaching Maths was very nice. We also liked his way of speaking. So, we wanted to speak like him, and we joined teaching.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

Fatima has never lived outside her village. After completing her high school, she began teaching voluntarily first at the madrassa and then at GGMS. Fatima began

her teaching career as a volunteer teacher at the village's madrassa attached to the Imambara – a congregational hall of Shina Muslims. In 2015, Fatima along with another female volunteer teacher, began teaching the Holy Quran and prayers to children at the madrassa. They conducted classes in the early morning before school time and girls of all ages and boys below twelve years joined the Quran lessons. Fatima learned religion and recitation of the Holy Quran from two male teachers, who handed over Quran classes to Fatima. She mentioned the transition in the madrassa classes from male teachers to female teachers: "We learned from the two Sheiks [religious teachers]. They had taught us in the same place [the madrassa]. Later on, one of them moved to Iran and the other one started his own business. As we were seniors, our teacher asked us to teach other children." Fatima continued teaching voluntarily at madrassa for three years without any salary and then she was replaced by her sister in 2017.

Since 2016, Fatima has worked full-time as a community volunteer teacher at GGMS. Fatima was interested in a teaching career; therefore, after Grade 12 she pursued a one-year certificate in teaching (CT) course through distance learning from AIOU. Towards the end of the program Fatima completed the one-month practicum at her own village's school for girls. Soon after completing the CT course in 2016, Fatima was offered an opportunity to join the same school as a volunteer teacher. "The teachers of this school offered me to join the school because teachers and students liked the way I was teaching during practicum." At GGMS, Fatima worked as a volunteer teacher for one year without any salary and then the school began

paying her a monthly salary of Rs. 2,000 (US$14) during the second year, which had increased to Rs. 3,000 (US$21) by 2019.

In the last three years of working full-time as a volunteer teacher, Fatima didn't get any opportunity to get recruited as a government regular employee. Fatima believes that getting a government teaching job requires competence and higher qualifications:

> I think we need to study regularly, we have to be competent, and we need to build our abilities. And then, we need to appear in NTS [National Testing Service] test and pass the test, [and] then apply for the teaching post of grade 14...When NTS was offered, we were still doing our CT, and studying in FA [Equivalent to Grade 12]. FA/CT was a prerequisite for NTS test. So, we didn't complete prerequisites and we were too young at that time; we were still students, so we did not apply. Since we completed our B.A [and] CT, the government has not announced any teaching posts [vacancy].

Fatima has never applied for any government teaching positions and she is waiting for any future vacancies at GGMS, the only school in the village where a female teacher could get a government regular teaching job. Female teachers are not eligible to apply for vacancies at GBPS, where only male teachers got government jobs, as per policy. As an exception to the policy, four government male teachers had been transferred to the GGMS, thus leaving less job opportunities for female.

Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

Fatima has never been to a university for higher education due to economic barriers as well as restrictions from family to leave the village and to live in cities.

She is passionate for further education and completed her B.A. degree as a private candidate, while studying at home. In 2016, Fatima completed a one-year certificate in teaching (CT) course through distance learning from AIOU. However, she believed that her teaching methods were developed gradually with her teaching experience in the classrooms. CT didn't influence her teaching and Fatima doesn't remember any content of CT relevant for her teaching context. One benefit Fatima received from CT was her current volunteer teaching job, which was offered as a result of doing the practicum for CT. The senior teachers and students liked her teaching methods during the one-month practicum and then she was offered the teaching position at the same school.

Inservice Training and Influences

In the last three years of teaching at GGMS, Fatima participated in only one inservice training on ECD organized by AFAQ [a not-for-profit private organization]. The 3-day training on ECD was organized at another village and Fatima had to walk two hours each way to the training venue each day. Fatima reflected on her inservice training experience:

> It was on how to teach ECD children. Teaching with the help of toys and your behavior should be good while teaching children, etc. Children should not be scolded. And one-year-old children or three years old children, such children should not be forced to study. They trained us on this and then we came here [back to the village] and started teaching accordingly...I was teaching ECD class but in training we are trained to teach with the help of toys and other

> resources, which are not available here in the classroom. Then [after some time] the other teachers asked me to teach senior classes.

Fatima considered the inservice training on ECD less effective due to shortage of relevant teaching and learning materials at the school. Soon after getting the ECD training, Fatima was reassigned moved from teaching ECD to teaching senior classes. Fatima observed that this change to senior classes made ECD training irrelevant for her practice as a teacher.

Fatima didn't get formal training opportunities, except the ECD training. However, she seeks help from her peers as part of informal learning. Fatima said:

> Either during the break time or when there is a free period, I ask other teachers, and I am the most junior teacher. I ask for the meanings of difficult words…[I]t takes more time to search in dictionaries, so I just ask any teacher, a senior teacher, like Sir Sajid or the Principal, and [then I] share the answer with the students. If not, I use the mobile dictionary or consult the printed dictionary, and then teach.

Nevertheless, she has classes until the end of school, leaving her with little time to interact with other teachers in the staffroom. Also, Fatima – being a junior volunteer teacher – is not invited to most of the meetings for government staff at the school. She felt excluded sometimes: "government teachers used to have consultations among themselves. I didn't sit with them." The inequalities between government-paid and volunteer teachers are wide and clearly visible, especially for volunteer teachers in their daily lives at the school. Fatima's workload, low pay, and lack of training opportunities, among other factors clearly present a case of how teacher exclusion

and status in the school is linked to contract type. The key issue of gender pay gap is further discussed in the next section.

Challenges and Barriers for Female Teachers

Wide Inequalities and Pay Gap Among Teachers

The inequalities among teachers at GGMS are wide. Teachers on different types of contracts have different pay, benefits, training opportunities, career progression and service conditions. Government teachers, mostly men, are the highest paid teachers, with permanent jobs and all the benefits, including pension and annual leave. There are six government teaching positions at the GGMS, with four male teachers compared to only two female teachers working on regular jobs. Also, all the four male government teachers are on a higher pay scale and have more experience compared to the two newly appointed government female teachers. In addition, the GGMS has one female teacher on contingent contract with a fixed pay of Rs. 5,000 (US$36). Lastly, volunteer community teachers are the lowest paid teachers and sometimes not paid at all. Fatima – as a volunteer teacher – was not paid any salary during her first year of teaching at the school. In her second year of teaching at GGMS, she began receiving a monthly salary of Rs. 2,000 (US$14), which increased to Rs. 3,000 (US$21) in the third year.

An analysis of teacher salaries at GGMS reveal that Fatima's pay is 17 times less than the average salary for a government male teacher and 10 times less than a government female teacher at the same school. This wide difference in pay doesn't translate into less work for the less paid teachers. In fact, Fatima was assigned classes till the end of the school and her daily working hours are equal to, if not more than,

the highly paid government teachers. Moreover, Fatima has no job security and no benefits such as paid leave or retirement. Fatima's monthly salary is less than even the minimum wages for unskilled labor in the country. In a rural village, a female teacher like Fatima has no alternative job options except teaching in the local schools. Pay gap and low salary for female teachers in Mountain Village are similar to the situation found in other parts of rural Pakistan. Research studies (Andrabi et al., 2006) show that rural private schools in Pakistan hire predominantly local, female, and moderately educated teachers who have limited opportunities outside the village and the teacher are hired for low salaries. The case of Fatima presents a case where low paid female teachers are hired not only by the rural private schools but also by rural government schools, even though this practice remains outside the government's policy of minimum and equal pay.

Additional Roles and Home Chores for a Female Teacher

Fatima's daily routine is busy with teaching till 2:30pm, and after school she had to work at home till evening. Since Fatima has 8 siblings – 5 sisters and 3 brothers, her work at home is shared, mainly with her female siblings. Fatima described her tasks and work routine at home:

> After getting up early morning, we make tea, perform prayers and then read Islamic books, Hadith, recite Dua-e-Kumail and Dua-e-Tawassul on Fridays. We try to finish these activities on time. Sometimes, if it is getting late for the school, then we leave readings unfinished and come to our schools. And most of the work at home is done by those [siblings] who are free at home. We teachers leave domestic work unfinished and come to the schools for our

> duty…After going back [from school] to homes, we perform our prayers and we prepare dinner…[W]e do a lot, take care of the cattle, give water to the cow and milk the cow…We take care of our parents and cook food for them, washing clothes, etc.

The above excerpt shows additional roles and workload for a female volunteer teacher in the village. Besides, she worked as a volunteer teacher for three years at a madrassa until 2017.

Teaching as a Challenging Task Without Relevant Training

Fatima considered teaching a difficult job. As a new and junior teacher, she felt less experienced than other teachers. Fatima pointed out that her teaching is challenging, particularly teaching textbooks in English. With the exception of a 3-day workshop on ECD, Fatima has not received any training opportunities, either on teaching methods or subject content. For example, she raised the language issue, which is that while teaching mathematics the textbook is in English, she has to teach in Urdu, although students prefer communicating in local language. Fatima acknowledged she has weakness in English as her own school experience was not in English. “Our [English] vocabulary is limited, and secondly our speaking skills are weak. And in hard areas, speaking skills are not given importance; [in our own school] teachers were using the local language to teach us.” Fatima has to work hard to find the meanings of the English words in the textbooks and she seeks help from senior teachers or a dictionary. She had to switch languages sometimes, even though the instructions from the Education Department is to use Urdu as a medium of instruction in classrooms. Fatima explained: “We teach in Urdu... [but] they

[students] speak Shina...[W]hen children don't understand in Urdu, then we teach in their own language [Shina]."

In remote schools like GGMS, teachers rely on the textbook as the sole teaching and learning material. Fatima elaborated on the planning of her syllabus and the teaching of the textbooks for an academic year:

> For our syllabus, we are instructed by the Principal to divide the whole book into two parts, one part is for 6 months and the other part is for 6 months; hence, the whole book is completed in a year. Then first we teach one part and [the students] take the test as first term exams. Then the second session starts. In the second session we teach the second part of the book, [and] then [the students] … [at the end of the year take exams, annual exams.

Fatima described the teaching methods she used in her classrooms:

> Firstly, when we enter the class, children and teacher say *salam* [a traditional greeting of "peace"]. After greetings, we ask questions from students about the topic of lesson and the exercise. Questions such as, "do you have any idea, any understanding about the topic?" Then, students respond to us if they have any idea or no understanding of the topic. Then we ask students to read the text and we read the text. After model reading for two to three times, again we ask two or three volunteer students to read the text. The [top] students – first, second and third position holders – can read the text to some extent. After their reading, I ask other students to read. I ask if they understand what is taught. If they say that they still did not understand, then we repeat the same for three, four, five or even six times. And then we write words [on the board]

> and their meaning for the students. Then the 30 minutes period ends. We assign home work. Next day, we administer a test of the students, [and] then we do the exercise after completing the chapter. After completion of the exercise, we give questions for the senior classes and a test [an assignment] for the junior classes, to read at home.

Without any training opportunities and mentoring support, Fatima had to work hard, especially teaching textbooks in English.

Gender Issues

In addition to the major issue of low pay and temporary contracts for female community teachers discussed in the previous section, Fatima highlighted the lack of training opportunities, difficulties for women in travelling and accommodation outside the village, as significant issues for female teachers. She further added that, the female teachers are dependent on male teachers for any information about training or other developments in education.

Fatima would like to apply for a government teaching position in the future as she felt wide disparity between government and volunteer teachers. She didn't get an opportunity for higher education in a university, stating that "because of belonging to a hard area/village, people say we don't send females to other places to study. People are very narrow-minded, so they did not send me for further study." Fatima remains interested to go to the nearest city and improve her educational qualifications. "I am interested to study in a university…I want to go to KIU University Gilgit."

Case 5: Ms. Suraya

Profile

Suraya, aged 26, was born and raised in a remote village in the same valley where Mountain Village is located. She had early schooling and teaching experiences at her native village. Suraya was interested in becoming a doctor initially and had no interest in teaching. However, she started teaching at the school in her native village after completing Grade 10, because there was no other opportunity except teaching in her remote village. She began her teaching career at a government middle school in the morning and then taught at a private English medium school (primary and middle level combined) in the afternoon. With over seven years teaching experience, Suraya – at the time of the interview in March 2019 – was working as a substitute teacher at the GGMS. In addition, she was working part-time as a substitute teacher at the PMS when a teacher is absent. Suraya aimed to apply for a government job or another teaching job with a regular salary. She identified English language as the main challenge and training need for teachers.

Early Schooling and Interest in Teaching

Suraya was one of the seven girls to get enrolled in her village's private school for boys where 160 students were boys. Suraya shared her early schooling experiences:

> When I was 5 years old, I used to take my younger brother aged 4 to a private English medium school in the village. The per-student fee in the private school was Rs. 100 per month, and my two brothers aged 4 and 7 were enrolled at the private school. At that time girls were not encouraged to go to

> the school, but I started learning informally at my brother's school, since I used to go to drop him at school and sat with him in the class. I helped my younger brother read and write at home. A year later, I cried at home and insisted [with my parents] that I wanted to go to school, and then my family enrolled me at the private school. We were only 7 girls and 160 boys in the private middle school for boys. My father was the chairman of the school committee and two female teachers of the school lived at our home, enabling me to get help from them in my studies at home.

Her village had a school up to middle level. Suraya, along with her brothers, moved to Gilgit city for two years for Grade 9 and 10. She didn't complete Grade 10, because she became engaged to marry at the age of 14 and had to return to the village. Later on, she completed Grade 12 in a neighboring village.

Suraya was not interested in teaching until she started working as a teacher. Suraya was interested in the field of medicine as she expresses: "since my early age, I saw doctors coming to our village in cars and I wished to become a doctor. Bio [Biology] was my favorite subject. When I got engaged at age 14, all my educational ambitions shattered." Suraya was depressed and unable to focus on studies in the next few years. She got married after three years of her engagement. Originally not interested in teaching, she became a teacher because there was no other opportunity for Suraya in her remote village except teaching.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

Suraya has seven years of experience teaching as a community teacher at the government middle school for boys in her native village. The community had

combined resources including teachers of the village's community school with the government middle school for boys. Suraya was among four community teachers who were paid Rs.1500 (US$10) by charging students a fee of Rs.150 (US$1). Her monthly pay increased from Rs.1500 in 2011 to Rs.9000 in 2018, when she left her native village and moved to Mountain Village. She described her entry into teaching this way:

> Right after completing Grade 10, I joined as a community teacher in our village school. The community had combined the government middle school for boys and the community school, and all resources were combined with shared teachers. Some teachers were government teachers while others were community teachers. Over 200 students were enrolled and the community charged a fee from the students to pay for the community teachers…We were four [community] teachers and we collected fees from students and then divided among ourselves.

In her village, people were not happy paying even a fee of Rs. 150 at the government school. In addition to teaching as a community teacher at the government middle school, Surya was teaching at the private English school during afternoons for six years until 2018. The school charged a fee of Rs.1,200 per student and Suraya was paid a monthly salary of Rs. 7,000.

In 2018, she had to move to Mountain Village to reside with her husband. At the time of her transition, the government announced six vacancies for teachers in her native village. Suraya was not selected for NTS test due to an error in her ID card. Subsequently her ID card was changed to Mountain Village, so she is not eligible to

apply for teaching positions in her native village due to the hard area policy. As per government's hard area recruitment policy, only local residents of a village can apply for government teaching jobs. Suraya believes that her opportunities for a government job are limited, since there are no vacancies for female teachers at GGMS.

Meanwhile, Suraya began working as a substitute teacher for the PMS, five months prior to being interviewed for this study in March 2019. A substitute teacher is called to school only when a regular teacher is absent. Currently, Suraya is a volunteer substitute teacher at GGMS, teaching science for Grades 5 through 8. The government science teacher is on leave from GGMS and Suraya was invited by the principal to work as a substitute teacher in February 2019. Suraya has been assured that she will get a monthly salary of Rs. 8,000, which will be deducted from the salary of the teachers on leave.

Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

Suraya started teaching after completing Grade 10 and took a one-year certificate in teaching (CT) course once she realized that teaching would be her career. She was of the opinion that the CT course through distance learning from AIOU was useful for her teaching. The CT curriculum included a practicum and workshops. Suraya found the CT instructor's suggestions useful. "In the CT workshop, the instructor helped us learn activity-based learning. The instructor told us that our teaching methods are wrong, and we should change our traditional teaching methods to activity-based methods." Suraya intends to pursue a B.Ed. degree in the future.

Inservice Training and Influences

During her teaching career spanning over seven years, Suraya participated in only one formal inservice training. Remote location, lack of information, limitations on her traveling and shortage of teachers were the main reasons for Suraya's limited opportunities for training. The only training Suraya participated in was a one-month training on ECD, organized at Gilgit in 2015. Without adequate formal training, Suraya developed her teaching approaches over several years of experience. Suraya explained her teaching approaches:

> We were living in a remote village and not informed about trainings outside the village. We used the teaching methods which were used for teaching by our own teachers. At the beginning of the class, we check homework, teach the chapter and then students are assigned reading and classwork.

Suraya pointed out challenges in classroom teaching, especially related to the multiple languages used in the school:

> Science textbooks are in English. We encourage students to speak English during the classes. We [the teachers] also don't know English but try together with students to use English. Student don't speak English or Urdu and they use Shina…In our [native] village school, there was a fine for speaking Shina. Students were fined Rs. 10 and teachers were fined Rs.100 for speaking Shina in the [in classrooms] at the [private] English school. The class representative collected the fines, which were used to purchase school supplies. In [Mountain Village], the language [rules] are not strict in the morning school [GGMS], while situation in the private school [PMS] is better…Previously,

> we were using [the local language] Shina and now we try to use Urdu and English…The principal provided feedback on our teaching in the classroom and then suggested to change the language.

Although Suraya has participated in only one inservice training, she learned informally from her peers at the private school. Suraya joined teachers' meetings at the private school and discussed classroom teaching issues. "In my native village school, our teachers shared information in monthly meetings and the principal observed our classes and provided feedback," Suraya remembered.

Suraya, as a teacher, had joined two schools in her native village and two schools in Mountain Village. However, she never received any orientation, let alone an induction program, at the time of joining the schools. She had been teaching Science and English at primary and middle level. Suraya identified English as "the biggest challenges in the classroom" and suggested training in English for teachers in remote villages.

Challenges and Barriers for Female Teachers

Wide Inequalities and Pay Gap Among Teachers

Being a substitute teacher, Suraya had no job contract and no service conditions. She was called for teaching during absence of a regular teacher and got paid an amount at the discretion of the principal. With no other job options in the village, Suraya was not in a position to negotiate her salary, and therefor accepted any salary paid by the principal.

She was paid Rs. 3000 (US$21) for two months teaching at the PMS. At the time I interviewed her in March 2019 she had been assured by the principal of GGMS

that she would receive Rs. 7,000 (US$50), but this pay is still one fourth of the salary of the government teacher on leave. Also, she will not be paid for summer and winter vacations when schools are closed. Wide inequalities in pay and benefit of teachers with the same effort within the same school remains a key challenge which will impact on teachers' motivation, job satisfaction and performance.

At GGMS, there are three female teachers, each with a different contract type [including verbal agreement] with different salaries. Government male teachers remain the highest paid, followed by government female teachers, while all remaining non-government teachers are paid one fourth of the salary of the government teacher.

Highlighting gender disparities among male and female teachers, Suraya said: "if we reach home [from our school teaching job] a few minutes late, we are inquired that 'where were you? Hasn't the school ended early?' We had to face these questions at home so female teachers have difficulties." She added that mobility and travelling for women is restrictive, expensive and time consuming:

> Male teachers have easy mobility and they are well informed. We do not get training opportunities in a remote village. If there is any training [outside the village], we have to hire a vehicle and then travel along with another male member of the family, [but oftentimes] two people from a household cannot spare money and time to go outside the village for any training.

Case 6: Ms. Zahra

Profile

Zahra was born and raised in Mountain Village. She is one of the only two female teachers with a government permanent job at the GGMS. Zahra, in her late

twenties, has three children and her husband works in the military service away from the village. With only one-year government service, she is the most recently recruited government teacher employed in the village.

Her early schooling was in Mountain Village schools and then she completed a B.A. degree from a private college in a neighboring village. She had been actively participating in a USAID funded training on early grade reading skills and considered the training the most influential learning experience for her. She identified transportation and travel restrictions as the main barriers for female teachers.

Early Schooling Experience and Interest in Teaching

Zahra completed her early schooling up to Grade 10 in Mountain Village. First, she went to the community school (BECS) for primary level grades and then she completed Grades 6-10 at the community coaching center in 2006. Zahra continued her studies at a private college in a neighboring village for the next four years and completed a B.A. degree in 2011. The long distance from her home to the college was one of the main issues she faced during those four years. Zahra recalled:

> Sometimes we got a car but mostly we had to walk. We were only three girls [from Mountain Village] and we walked together [to the neighboring village]. Later, they [the other two girls] got married and I had to walk alone to the college. My family members used to walk half way [to accompany me] and then we walked together back home. Mostly, my dad, my mother or a relative used to come [to meet me half way outside the village].

Zahra liked her teachers in the village during her early schooling. Teachers at her college were not very effective and she believed that her teaching practice was not

influenced by her college teachers. Zahra shared: "I didn't use their teaching methods and I use my own methods."

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

Zahra began her teaching career after completing Grade 10. Her first teaching job was a part-time teaching position at the private school in 2009. Less than one year after she started teaching, the private school had to downsize teaching positions; Zahra's was one of those that got eliminated. For the next five years, Zahra stayed home raising her children, doing home chores and farming. In 2015, she restarted her teaching career after a gap of five years. She was one of three teachers selected by village's SMC to teach Grade 1-2 students at a non-formal school[7] functioning at the mosque. A government program provided salary of Rs. 12,000 for one teacher but the community (SMC) appointed three female teachers and divided salary, with each teacher getting Rs. 4,000. Zahra worked two years at the non-formal school until 2017. Then, she applied for a government teaching position at GGMS and finally got selected in 2018. There are only two female teachers[8] with permanent government positions at GGMS and Zahra is one of them.

Zahra's case is unique as she was the first local female teacher with a permanent government job. At the time of competing for the government vacancy of EST scale-14, Zahra had the minimum entry requirements. There were other local female teachers with equal or even higher qualifications than Zahra, but Zahra declared that she was successful in getting the position because of her higher entry

[7] Classes for Grade 1-2 students of the non-formal school were conducted in the mosque, but the enrollment figures were officially reported as students of the GGMS.
[8] The other female teacher was originally educated in a city and recently moved to Mountain Village after getting married. She was on leave at her parent's home in the city and not available for interview.

test scores. In remote villages, information is not easily available, especially for females, and they depend on male relatives or male teachers to hear about job opportunities, etc. Also, female teachers are less aware of government recruitment rules and test structure, compared to male teachers. In the case of Zahra, one of her male cousins from Gilgit city helped her throughout the recruitment process, enabling her to stay informed and complete the application process. She explained the process of her recruitment in detail:

> I didn't know about the teaching vacancy [advertised for GGMS]. My cousin [from the city] made a phone call and asked me to send him my documents for the government teaching job and get prepared for NTS [National Testing Service] test. I asked him "how can I prepare for the test"? He sent me the NTS book [for test preparation] from Gilgit city and asked me to send Rs.700 for the book. I sent him my documents and Rs.700 for the book. Then, he submitted my documents [job application paperwork]. My husband was away in military service and my father-in-law was old, so my cousin submitted the documents [job application]. Then, I went to Gilgit for the NTS test and I had to take my infant baby girl with me to the city, while I left two children back home in the village… After a few days my cousin informed me that I had passed the test and I should be ready for the [selection] interview… So, I was invited for the interview and I appeared at the interview… After the interview, she [another female teacher with the highest scores] was appointed, as there was only one vacant position [at GGMS]… I was on the waiting list and got appointed after waiting for one year.

Initially, Zahra didn't get selected for the teaching position in 2017, but then after waiting for one year, she was appointed in 2018 for the EST permanent government position at GGMS[9].

Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

Her preservice teacher training includes a CT. and a B.Ed. Since there was no teacher training college in the entire district, she enrolled in teaching education programs through distance learning and as a private candidate, without regular classes. Her first teaching certification was a one-year long CT through distance learning in 2009, right after finishing high school. It took another ten years for Zahra to complete a B.Ed. degree as a private candidate for KIU. Zahra believed that her teaching methods were less influenced by preservice training and, in fact, she considered a recent inservice training experience as the most influential training experience.

Inservice Training and Influences

Zahra didn't get any inservice training opportunities before obtaining the government teaching position. Last year, she was nominated as a female government teacher from GGMS to participate in a training program offered by the USAID-funded Pakistan Reading Project (PRP). Zahra elaborated on her experience of participating in the PRP training program:

[9] It appears as if the government officials had used the merit list from previous year and filled the position (a practice not uncommon), perhaps to save time and avoid going through a new long recruitment process, including advertisements, tests and interviews. The actual reasons remain unknown as this study focused only on teachers' perceptions and experiences but didn't include interviews of government officials responsible for recruitment.

> In 2018, I participated in a 2-day workshop and then joined monthly TIG [teacher inquiry group] meetings at a high school in the neighboring village. We arranged our own transportation to go to TIG meetings and then we got Rs. 500 reimbursed for transportation expenses.

Zahra further elaborated that the training on early grade reading skills was effective, mainly due to school-based follow-up activities and provision of free materials to both teacher and students. The training facilitators frequently visited schools, demonstrated lessons, observed classrooms and provided feedback to Zahra. Zahra indicated that the reading skills of Grade 1-2 students were gradually improving, and that she had adopted the new approaches to teaching reading. She described the influence of the training on her daily routine in the class:

> Now I follow teaching methods according to PRP training. First, I teach the topic and then I ask children if they understood or not. Then, they read and solve questions I assign to them. I ask questions to assess children. Every semester, we take exams before summer and winter vacations… A lot of changes [are happening]. Before PRP, Grade 2 children were unable to read in Urdu and now they can read well.

In case of GGMS, Zahra is exclusively assigned to be the language teacher focusing on teaching Urdu – a second language for locals speaking Shina language. Every day first she teaches Urdu as a subject using the official government curriculum and then another period teaching Urdu reading skills – Zahra named this class "PRP class" for the same students.

Another important intervention of PRP was provision of free teaching and learning materials for teachers and students, according to Zahra. All the target schools under USAID PRP received instructional materials, including flash cards, tablet for teacher, big books, and workbooks for Grade 1-2 children. Zahra considered these materials very useful in her classroom. “I use workbooks [in class] but don’t give them to Grade 1 children [to take home], and I keep workbooks with me [at school], Because Grade 1 students tear workbooks, I keep with me. I give workbooks to Grade 2 [students as they are older and take care of workbooks].”

Challenges and Barriers for Female Teachers

Unlike other local female teacher in the village, Zahra didn’t raise any concerns about job security or low pay. One explanation for this difference could be that Zahra has a government job with a relatively high salary along with benefits. But her salary was still the lowest among the government teachers, primarily due to less years of service as a government teacher. Her monthly salary was around Rs. 25,000 (US$180), much higher than a volunteer female teacher’s salary of Rs. 3,000 (US$22) at the same school.

Gender Issues

She pointed out that additional responsibilities at home (e.g. farming and raising children) makes the life of a female teacher into one that has little time to rest. Zahra has three children and her oldest daughter is enrolled in the private school, while her two other children are still below school going age.

Zahra identified cultural restrictions for women’s travel and transportation issues as the main challenges for a female teacher. Similar to other Muslim

communities with a strong influence of patriarchy, women in Mountain Village are not allowed to travel alone without a male relative. Zahra felt that female teachers were disadvantaged compared to male teachers, because male teachers had freedom of movement and could use a motorbike.

The travel restrictions were a major challenge, particularly for female teachers, when they needed to travel out of the village to participate in teacher training programs. For instance, last year, Zahra's had to travel to participate in her first inservice training, organized by the USAID-funded PRP in a town far from her village. She considered the training effective, but the logistics for her travel and accommodation were extremely challenging. Zahra described some of the difficulties she experienced in order to participate in the training outside her village:

> I had to carry my infant child and then another male relative had to accompany me to travel [as women are not allowed to travel alone] for the training. We had no relatives to stay overnight at the town where the training was organized, so [after attending daily training sessions] three of us had to travel [from the training venue] to another village, where we had relatives and we stayed there.

She further elaborated that there was no direct transportation available from her village to the town where the training was organized, making travelling difficult for her with an infant child. First, she had to travel from her village to a neighboring village and then wait for a van to go to the town where training was organized. Then, she had to travel from the training venue to another village where she could stay at a relative's home. Most of the male teachers ride motorbikes and easily commute, but

female teachers are restricted due to local cultural traditions, making travelling outside village one of the biggest challenges, as identified by Zahra.

Case 7: Mr. Mustafa

Profile

Mustafa was born and raised in Mountain Village. At the time of the establishment of the first primary school for boys in 1973, Mustafa enrolled in the newly established school with its first cohort of boys. He completed Grade 10 at a high school in the neighboring village and then stayed home for the next three years shepherding goats. Mustafa, in his mid-50s, has seven children from two wives – five from the first wife and two from the second wife. In Grade 9, he got married and his oldest son was born when Mustafa was a student in Grade 10. Mustafa completed Grade 12 in Gilgit, where he lived in his uncle's shop for two years. After Grade 12, he stayed in his village and didn't travel to cities for higher education because his wife was ill. After the death of his first wife, Mustafa got married again and in March 2019 he had two children aged 3 and 4 years from his second wife.

Mustafa continued his education through distance learning and entered into the teaching profession as a teacher at the private school and the community school for girls at Mountain Village. In 2000, he got selected as a government trained graduate teacher (TGT) in BPS-16 and got transferred to seven schools during his 18 years career. At the time of my interview with him, Mustafa was working as the headmaster of GGMS in Mountain Village. With over 18 years of government service, he is the most senior government employee in the village and is well respected. Besides school administration, he teaches four classes daily, including English, Islamic Studies,

Geography and Social Studies at the middle school level. Just prior to my interview with him, he had received his transfer order and was expecting to leave the village in next few days to join the new posting at a high school for girls in another village.

Early Schooling and Influence of Teachers

Mustafa considered his early schooling experiences very positive, and he highly respected his school teachers. He mentioned that since they were the first cohort of boys to start going to school at the newly established primary school, all boys were excited and motived to learn from the teachers. Mustafa was one of approximately 20 students to enroll in the first cohort of school, but only 5 students completed primary school, as the other students dropped out or repeated grades. Mustafa continued his schooling and walked to a school in a neighboring village for the next four years until he finished Grade 10. He lived at Gilgit city for two years to complete his Grade 12, but never travelled to any city for higher education due to his responsibilities at home and illness of his wife. Mustafa believed that his teaching is influenced by his own school teachers. He shared:

> Our teachers were teaching with great passion. Two of them have died. One was Muhammad [pseudonym]. Even though he was short tempered, he was teaching very well and used to involve students in teaching…[T]hey [teachers] used to teach us how to write on wooden slates [wooden tablets used before paper notebooks were available].

Mustafa valued his school teachers and considered them to have influenced his teaching beliefs and practice.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

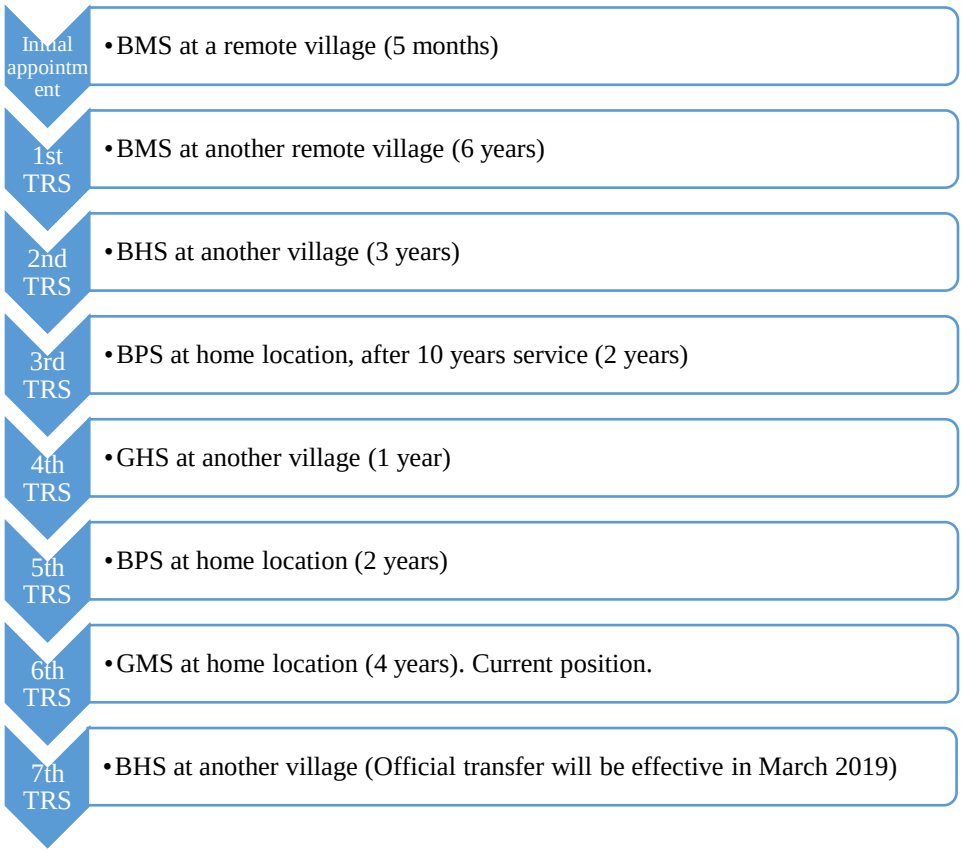
Mustafa began his teaching career in his own village's community school. The recruitment process appeared to be simple, with no professional certifications required. In the 1990s, the SMC invited Mustafa and offered him a teaching position at the AKES community coaching center for girls. His first salary was Rs. 800 per month, which later increased to Rs. 1,200. In his first teaching assignment, he worked for three years and taught English and Science. His second teaching experience was for two years teaching at SAP community school for girls (now BECS). He along with two other teachers were among the founding members to establish the private middle school (not-for-profit) in the village. Finally, he was selected for a government permanent teaching position through FBSC[10] recruitment process. He described how he got recruited into government service: "In 2000, the government advertised 42 teaching positions for the whole province and recruitment was through the FPSC. The test was given in Islamabad. We travelled to Islamabad and appeared for the test and interview… We received results exactly after one month [of test]." Mustafa believed that recruitment process was merit-based and fair.

Mustafa was directly recruited as TGT with BPS-16 and deployed to a government boys' middle school (BMS) in a remote village, away from his home location. In the next 18 years of his teaching career, Mustafa was assigned to 8 schools (2 at his home location) as shown in Figure 14.

[10] Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC), Islamabad is responsible to recruit government servants for scale 16 and above, while the provincial Department of Education is responsible to recruit teachers and staff below scale 16.

Figure 14

Mustafa's Eight School Transfers (TRS) in 18 Years Career



Unlike other local male teachers from his village, Mustafa had been transferred multiple times to schools outside his village. However, his transfer frequency was less than Hassan (Case-2), and he was able to work at schools located in his home location for six years. Interestingly, Mustafa did not complain about his transfers to schools outside his village and, in fact, supported the government's decision to transfer teachers. He considered transfers as a learning opportunity, but he indicated that he preferred transfer to middle and high schools and not to primary schools:

> We learn from our senior [teachers]. If we stay at one school, then our knowledge will be stagnant. When we get transferred to other schools, we learn from other teachers. Transfer and posting are an essential part of [government] service and I am not against postings. But it should be to higher classes. It shouldn't be from middle to primary schools…

Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

Mustafa continued his higher education – both academic and professional certification – through distance learning while living at his village. His most recent certification was an M.Ed. degree through distance learning from AIOU. "Every teacher has [his or her] own style. Some teachers teach through creating fear while some teach by creating friendly environment. The M.Ed. courses focus on methods and we learn about [ways of being] educationists," Mustafa said. For Mustafa, degree programs are a source of learning, but ultimately every teacher developed their own individual teaching practice.

Inservice Training and Influences

Mustafa has participated in several inservice training programs over a long teaching career, both as community school teacher and government teacher. He remembered some of those training programs and shared some examples of the trainings he considered important. The first training for Mustafa as a community teacher in the 1990s was a one-month field-based teacher training program at cluster level. He found the training useful, especially for improving his English language skills as one of the trainers was a foreigner. "The trainers included one local male and one foreigner female. It [training] was on teaching methodology and very useful. The

one-month training helped me for my English language skills and helped me later in FPSC test." Mustafa attributed his success in FPSC test [for government teaching position] to his the one-month teacher training, among other factors.

As a government teacher, Mustafa participated in inservice trainings provided by the government as well as by donor-funded projects. His inservice training history included: 1) a 10-days training on methodology at PDCN Gilgit in 2000; 2) a short training on teaching of English and Science, organized by DoE in 2005; 3) a 3-day training on creative thinking and problem solving, organized by DoE in 2015; and, 4) USAID-funded PRP training on teaching reading in 2016-17.

While sharing his experiences, Mustafa noted that there were "no trainings [and follow up] held at school level, except for the PRP follow up. Most trainings were organized at cluster level at high schools." He perceived the USAID-funded PRP training as one of the most useful training. He actively participated in teacher inquiry group [TIG] meetings at the cluster based in a neighboring village for two years in 2016-17. Initially, he utilized his newly learned skills by teaching Urdu reading for early grades, but then new teachers replaced him, and he was no longer teaching Urdu reading skills in the early grades.

Challenges and Barriers for Teachers

Teacher Training

Most of the teachers interviewed in this study highlighted a lack of training opportunities in remote areas. In contrast, Mustafa didn't point out a lack of training as an issue for him, perhaps because of his long career and having experienced

several training programs. Nevertheless, he did mention the need for subject-specific training for untrained and new teachers.

Lack of Communication and Resources

For Mustafa, the lack of a communication infrastructure is a key barrier for teachers in the remote areas of Northern Pakistan. For instance, living and working for six years at a remote school away from his home village was challenging as there was no telephone connections and road conditions were poor.

> Teachers in other remote areas have even more difficulties. There was not even a telephone communication where I was transferred [to the remote school]. We stayed there [at a room in the school]… Sometimes I had to walk 5 hours one way to return to my village and sometimes [I] found a van. Usually, I came back home during school vacations or after a few months.

He identified further challenges due to remoteness and stated that "official orders reached late due to the poor communication [system]. For example, once I reached one day late for the training on creative thinking because I received information [late] on the second day of training."

For Mustafa, extreme cold weather is another challenge in a remote village. Mustafa compared his school with cities (with mild weather): "even with limited resources [at school], this harsh weather, now you can see it's snowing outside in March and children are still happily going to classes, but this extreme weather is not [the case for students] in Gilgit." When weather is pleasant and sunny, most of the classes at Mustafa's school are conducted outside on the ground or on the roof top, to avoid cold temperatures inside classrooms. A government official visited school last

month and asked Mustafa the reasons for not providing heating in classrooms. Mustafa responded to the official that "the school has no funds to buy wood and, in fact, the school is in debt to pay for wood consumed last year."

Besides challenges, Mustafa also highlighted the benefits of working in remote schools. Local communities have a great tradition of hospitality and respect for teachers, according to Mustafa. "The local community gave us free vegetables and food and we were never worried [felt comfortable and safe] in 6 my years at the remote school. The community was very cooperative. They gave us free fruits and dry fruits," Mustafa acknowledged.

Gender Dimension

At the beginning of the discussion, Mustafa didn't accept that there were any gender issues and disparities, claiming that "there are no gender issues. Now there is little difference in male and female teachers at school." However, his responses to further probing questions provided new insights to our understanding of gender dynamics at the school. Responding to questions on gender disparities related to training opportunities, pay and contract types, Mustafa acknowledged that:

> More male teachers avail training opportunities as it's convenient for male teachers [to travel outside village]. Male face less problems [in traditional communities] than female…We assign more responsibilities to government teachers [mostly male] as they get more salary. We don't force any subject on volunteer female teachers. We ask them [female teachers] about their preferences and then assign classes. We give them leave when needed.

Interviews from female teachers without government job, contradict the above statement related to work load distribution. A female teacher claimed that her workload (classes taught) was equal to male teachers with higher salaries and permanent job at the same school.

On the one side, Mustafa supported female community teachers' demand for higher pay and job security, suggesting that "these teachers have been teaching for the last 25 years. The government should give retirement benefits to the old teachers, while young teachers should be regularized [into the government system]." One the other side, Mustafa strongly believed that male teachers were more competent than female teachers to teach at middle and high school level. "In my opinion, male teachers are more effective for teaching and more able to control [students] at the middle and high school level. At the primary level, all teachers should be female. They care [for children] like mothers," Mustafa contended.

Responding to a question on why male teachers, instead of female teachers as per policy, have been appointed at the girls' middle school (GGMS), Mustafa claimed that "if a female becomes available, then a female will be appointment [as government teachers] and we [male teachers] will be reassigned to a male school [GBPS]." I further probed reasons for not recruiting female teachers in government service, even when apparently there is no shortage of qualified female teachers, given that all the female teachers on temporary contracts already have the certifications required for entry into government teaching jobs. Mustafa's response was clearly linking the situation with perceived low abilities in female teachers. His perceptions appeared to favor male teachers as his statement revealed:

> Male teachers are more qualified…[T]hey [female teachers] need to pass the [entry] test and then the interviews. Female [teachers may have a] B.A., B.Ed., [and/or] M.Ed. degrees from AIOU [through distance learning], while they stayed in the village, so they have less ability. If you study regularly in a university, you will pass the test… [T]his is a major problem [restricting female entry into the government teaching positions].

Lastly, he assured me that male teachers will support female teachers' entry into government jobs, especially if female teachers are recruited for the primary schools. "Male will not resist as they will go to the middle school. All male teachers [should be] at middle level and it will be a better policy for the village," Mustafa concluded.

Case 8: Mr. Sajid

Profile

Sajid, aged 42, was born and raised in Mountain Village. After his primary school in Mountain Village, he completed Grade 10 in a neighboring village and then left his village for higher education at Karachi. In the next ten years, Sajid pursued B.Sc. and M.Sc. degrees as a regular student and started part-time teaching jobs at a private school.

Currently, he is a government teacher in BPS-16 at GGMS, teaching English and Social Studies at Grade 5-8 level. In afternoons, he teaches English, Urdu and Social Studies as a part-time teacher at the private middle school (PMS). Previously, he had worked as a school teacher in three different private schools outside his village for three years. Sajid is one of the highly qualified teachers with a Master's degrees as a regular student. He considered his own school teachers and one M.Ed. faculty

member to be influential on his teaching beliefs and practice. Sajid is a passionate teacher and actively engaged in community work in his village.

Early Schooling and Influence of Teachers

Sajid shared his early schooling experience in Mountain Village:

> My grandfather was against secular education and schools, even though he enrolled me at the primary school... Now I understand the reasons for his [grandfather's] opposition to schooling… He used to say that "boys who go to school then they don't work at home nor at farms, don't respect parents and become free wanderers… [T]hey [boys] go to Karachi for education and when they return to village they wear trousers [western dress] and don't work at home and farms." He was not against education but against the change [perceived negative] in the behavior of educated boys…

Sajid was influenced by his school teachers and attributed his interest in teaching to his school teachers. All three teachers at his primary school were non-locals and walked to his village every day, as there was no transportation.

> My primary school teachers were very sincere, and I still remember their teaching. They taught us religion, Islam, humanity and we were obedient students and always followed their instruction…I was interested more in religion and ethics. I believed teaching as a noble profession and we can bring change in society through education. At the primary level, I was impressed by my teachers and wanted to be a teacher. At my high school, our teacher Ali's teaching methods were the best. He tried to keep students happy.

Sajid left village to pursue higher education in Karachi, where he lived with other students from his valley. In Karachi, he lived in a community hostel, where 16 students stayed in only two rooms. After completing his M.Sc., Sajid returned to his village.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

Sajid entered into the teaching profession as a part-time teacher at a private school while pursuing higher education in Karachi. On his return to Mountain Village, he was offered a teaching position at a private community school in a neighboring village. For the next four years, he taught English and Science at private schools and then availed the AKES scholarship for one-year M.Ed. studies in Lahore. He returned to his village after completing M.Ed. and applied for government teaching positions multiple times without success. Finally, he got recruited into a government teaching position as a physical education teacher (PET) with scale-14 and assigned to a high school far from his own village.

Sajid described the recruitment process in detail and mentioned that he read government job advertisement in a newspaper and traveled to District Education Office to submit his application. On the day of the entry test, he observed that most of the candidates were cheating using books and asking each other. Sajid passed the entry test and got selected after the interview by a panel of DoE officials. Sajid found the test and interview easy to pass and the process simpler and quicker than he had imagined.

Initially, Sajid was appointed at a high school away from his village, but then he was transferred to another high school in a neighboring village. Finally, he was

transferred to GBPS at his home location, where he worked for one year before being transferred to his current teaching assignment at GGMS. He noted that his transfers were based on the need of teacher at schools. In his government service, he worked in schools outside his village for three years, got study leave for two years and, since 2016, was working at his home location in Mountain Village.

Sajid candidly stated that "I never used nepotism or bribes in my career of ten years." He further added that "people in our society say that teacher recruitment, transfers and promotions are influenced by nepotism, favoritism and power." This statement echoed literature on political and other influences on teacher management in Pakistan (Durrani et al., 2017; Saeed et al., 2013).

Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

In Mountain Village, Sajid is the only teacher to have completed an M.Ed. as a regular full-time student at a renowned institution in Pakistan. Nearly all other teachers pursued their teaching professional certifications through distance learning or as private candidates without attending any classes on college/university campus. Most of the teachers in remote areas don't have financial resources, but Sajid fortunately got an AKES scholarship which fully funded his M.Ed. degree program expenses. No other government teachers from Mountain Village has received any scholarship for an M.Ed. degree.

Sajid believed that the preservice experience of his M.Ed. influenced his teaching beliefs and practice.

Inservice Teacher Education and Influences

However, Sajid believed that inservice training was less influential in his case as he already had an M.Ed. degree from a renowned institution. In his opinion, teachers with less qualifications or experiences need more opportunities of inservice training. During his teaching career, Sajid participated in only two inservice training programs – the first training was a one-month training on teaching methods when Sajid was a private school teacher and the second training was a one-week training on the teaching of Maths and Science at PDCN Gilgit. Besides, Sajid participated in a workshop on disaster management in 2011 organized by Focus Humanitarian Assistance (FOCUS) and the Red Crescent Society Pakistan. Sajid did not receive any other inservice training experiences and believes that teachers working in remote schools are generally excluded from training programs, while some teachers well connected with officials get frequent training opportunities.

Challenges and Barriers for Teachers

Sajid highlighted communication barriers in his remote village as a major challenge, noting that "we don't have newspapers; we are disconnected from other people; we don't have resources here." Non-availability of internet and newspapers were highlighted by other teachers as well, most of whom have had exposure of them living in cities of Pakistan.

While discussing environmental issues, Sajid reported that they celebrate special days at school. For example, world hand-washing day was celebrated last year with the school doing demonstration for children to wash hands with soap. More importantly, Sajid along with other community leaders were raising awareness in the

community to stop deforestation and launched pine nut packaging and trade as an alternative source of income from the mountain pine forests.

Gender Dimension

> Sajid accepted that male teachers were privileged in Pakistan. He noted that: In our society, males have more influence compared to females. Males have a strong voice [influence] both inside and outside school…Female teachers face more challenges in the village. They are responsible for home, they have lot of burden [over worked], and they have to cook at home and take care of children.

Sajid identified extra workload as an issue for male teachers as well, but mainly during the summer agricultural season:

> In summer, I get very busy as my day starts at 5am with prayers and then I have to work on farms. I reach school at 8 am and return home after 6 pm. My land is far from home where I have to work. I also have a part-time [teaching] job. I have a cow and I need to arrange fodder for the cow on weekends… These are issues for everyone [in the village]… But as a government teacher, I get more free time for part-time job, business and community work.

Sajid reported that the government teachers are the highest paid civil servants in Mountain Village. He supported the demands of community teachers and mentioned that sometimes when he travels to Gilgit, he visits BECS office to follow up on the issue of delays in salary payment for female teachers of his village. It appeared that at least some male teachers support female teachers and cooperate with each other.

CHAPTER 8: TEACHERS AT BASIC EDUCATION COMMUNITY SCHOOL AND PRIVATE MIDDLE SCHOOL: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The first part of this chapters presents case studies of two female teachers working at the Basic Education Community School (BECS). One of the teachers interviewed from BECS work as part-time teacher during the afternoon hours at the Private Middle School (PMS). In the second part of the chapter, the case studies of two male teachers working at the PMS are examined.

Case 9: Ms. Sarah

Profile

Sarah, aged 36, was born in Mountain Village at a time when there was no primary school for girls. Her father found a job in another region of Pakistan and Sarah's family moved to a city, where Sarah was able to access basic education. Sarah's family came back to the village in 1994, when Sarah had completed Grade 8. Soon after her return, the village's education committee established the first primary school for girls in the village and the committee was searching for teachers. There was a shortage of female teachers in the village and the committee asked Sarah to help them by teaching voluntarily at the newly established primary school for girls. Gradually, she completed her high school as a private candidate and pursued a one-year certificate in education (CT) course through distance learning from AOIU.

Sarah, with a qualification of Grade 8, began her teaching career and worked voluntarily without any salary for two years. In 1996, the community school was reestablished as Social Action Program (SAP) community school. At that point Sarah started receiving a monthly salary of Rs. 1,200 (US$9) until 2009, when all

community schools were transferred from the provincial DoE to the federal government's NEF. NEF renamed the community school as a Basic Education Community School (BECS) and started providing teacher salaries and free textbooks to students. At the time of being interviewed in March 2019 her salary from NEF was Rs. 9,000 (US$64), but she along with the other four female teachers had not been paid for one year. She has been working as a teacher for 25 years but she, along with the other teachers of BECS, are still not on any government employee contract. Therefore, the teachers had been demanding their rights through holding several protest actions in Gilgit.

Early Schooling Experience and Interest in Teaching

Sarah was able to access basic education when her family was living in a city. Sarah's family came back to the village in 1994, when Sarah had completed Grade 8. She joined the newly established community school as a volunteer teacher. While teaching full-time, Sarah continued her schooling and completed her high school (Grade 12) through distance learning.

During early schooling experiences, Sarah liked a female teacher – the only female teacher is her school as all others were male teachers – because she was kind, caring and taught well. Sarah was not inspired by the male teachers, and teaching was not her first-choice career. In fact, she was interested in primary health care. At the time of Sarah's return to Mountain Village, there was a shortage of educated women for both the education and health sectors. Sarah was offered a government regular job of Local Health Worker (LHW). but she would have been required to travel to Islamabad for the LHW training. Sarah's father did not like the LHW job as he

believed that nursing was a profession is of low status in the society. Her father didn't approve her travel away from home to Islamabad for the LHW training. Sarah shared the resistance she faced for pursuing her first-choice career in health care:

> They [government officials] came to the village and offered the job to me, because there was a shortage of educated women in our village at that time, ... but my father did not like it [the LHW job] and did not send me [for the training]. I complained to my father until this day [for not allowing me to accept the job] … [H]e [father] responds that "teaching is the respectable job for you" … Even now, I continue to regret that I lost that opportunity.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

Soon after her return to the village in 1994, the village's education committee established the first primary school for girls in the village. There was a shortage of female teachers in the village and the committee asked Sarah to help them by teaching voluntarily at the newly established primary school for girls.

She raised her concerns for not getting a government teaching position. Recently, two female teachers have been appointed as government regular teachers at GGMS, but the government teaching workforce is still dominated by male teachers. There are four male teachers at GGMS compared to only two female teachers. BECS teachers are temporary staff and not eligible for government salary scale or employee benefits. Sarah explained the reasons for not getting a government job. Initially, she was never informed about any new vacancies for female teachers. She mentioned that last year she submitted her application for a vacancy for a government teacher position at GGMS, but she was not short-listed for the entry test. She was

disappointed, because she believed she had the required qualifications but still not short-listed. She explained some of the reasons:

> Last year, I applied for a government job but I did not receive a slip [short-listed candidates receive a slip], while two other teachers got the slip…maybe due to my age or maybe due to the reason that I had not attached [my] experience certificate with my application. Later on, I got a message that "if you were teacher, then why you didn't submit your experience certificate from the Director?" I was not aware of this requirement at the time of submitting the application; otherwise, I would have submitted the certificate.

Sarah continues her teaching at BECS as the most senior female teacher in the village. Being the most senior teacher, she is highly respected and considered as the head teacher of BECS. In practice, the school management committee has combined resources of both BECS and GGMS to maximize benefits for children. Hence, both schools are operated in the same building with some resources combined. Teachers work interchangeably as combined resource and the male Principal of GGMS is informally the leader for the whole school set up. The teachers indicated that officially both BECS and GGMS remain separate institutions with separate enrollment and separate teachers.

Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

Sarah entered the teaching profession with no formal preservice teacher education, as she was requested by the education committee to teach voluntarily and continue her high school education.

Teachers recruited for SAP community schools were not required to have a preservice teacher education certificate; hence, most of the teachers in remote areas were recruited without preservice training and then some teachers participated in inservice training.

Three years ago, Sarah completed a one-year certificate in education (CT) course through distance learning from AIOU. She believed that her teaching practice is less influenced by the CT and, in fact, she learned teaching through her own experiences and discussions with other teachers.

Inservice Training and Influences

Sarah participated in three inservice training programs during her 25 years of teaching career. The first training was the Field Based Teacher Development Program (FBTDP) held in 2000. FBTDP was a one year long compressive inservice training program implemented by DoE and AKESP with support from the DfID-funded Northern Areas Education Project (NAEP) during 1998-2003.

Sarah believed that FBTDP was a useful training, but she had to walk to a neighboring village for nearly one year to participate in the training. She remembered that the training included multigrade teaching methods. Her field training center was a two-hour walk from her village. Since she was out of school for the training for one year, she was replaced by two female substitute teachers to ensure the classes were covered.

Sarah's second and third trainings were organized by NEF soon after the schools were transitioned from DoE to NEF in 2010-11. In the second training, NEF trained teachers on maintaining school records and preparing monthly enrollment

sheets. The third and the last training focused on activity-based learning. Sarah had not received any inservice training in the last 7 years, when I interviewed her in March 2019.

An analysis of Sarah's training experiences reveal that she had only three trainings in a long teaching career of 25 years in a Mountain Village. On the contrary, a government teacher in the same village and same school premises received more training opportunities, as discussed in other cases. Training opportunities remain unequal for male and female teachers as well as for the government and non-government teachers within the same village. Lastly, the relevant of training is another factor as most of the trainings didn't include content specific to rural schools and mountainous environments.

Challenges and Barriers for Female Teachers

Promoting Girls' Education in the Village

Sarah has played an important role in promoting girls' education in the village. She started teaching at very early age, soon after her Grade 8, and helped the education committee in establishing the first primary school for girls in 1994. Sarah shared her early experiences of teaching and the difficulties teachers faced from some conservative community members:

> Not everyone in the community was happy at the beginning… [S]ome people were saying "Why did you start a school for girls? What is the benefit of girls' education? What will girls do with education as they cannot become engineers, etc." Such kind of comments were made by people. But, by the grace of Allah, with each year the new school progressed. It [the school] got

> more acceptance and then the people who were against the girls' education started sending their own daughters to the school…Within one year [of establishing the school] they realized and sent their daughters. Perhaps girls also forced their parents to allow them to go to the school, since other girls had already started going to school. So, they brought their daughters for admission. However, there are still some people who don't sent their daughters to school, even in this era.

Sarah acknowledged having received support from the male teachers, commenting that they were "very helpful and cooperative" at every stage. Sarah felt accomplished for teaching all girls in the village for the last 25 years. "I feel proud that [some of] my students have now become teachers and they are teaching to their students. I am proud that I have taught them."

Wide Inequalities in Working Conditions and Teacher Protest

Sarah's first two years of teaching career were unpaid, because she was a volunteer teacher and serviced community without any monetary expectations. Once the school was reestablished as a SAP community school in 1996, she started to receive a salary of Rs. 1,200; her salary increased to Rs. 4,000 under NEF and finally had increased to Rs. 9,000 by the time I interviewed her in March 2019.

Over the course of her service, there were some years when, along with other teachers, she didn't receive any salary at all. The salary they received was almost always late. In addition to the first two years of work without pay, Sarah has worked without salary for nearly three years during the transition of BECS from DoE to NEF. In March 2019, her salary had been overdue for one year. She was concerned that

long delays in the payment of salaries for BECS teachers results in high levels of stress and financial constraints for female teachers. Unlike government teachers, all the five teachers at BECS are female teachers with a monthly salary of Rs. 9,000 without any long-term job contracts. Sarah's monthly salary trends are presented in Table 16.

Table 16

Sarah's Monthly Salary Trend for 25 Years of Teaching Career

Year (Period)	Teacher Monthly Salary (Rs.)	Teacher Monthly Salary (US$)	Remarks
1994-95	0	0	Volunteer without salary
1996-2010	1,200	9	DoE paid salary
2010-13	0	0	No salary
2013-2016	4,000	29	NEF paid salary
2017	9,000	64	NEF increased salary
2018-19	9,000	64	NEF salary overdue for one year

Note: The above informed was collected from the participant's interview and may not necessarily represent official data of DoE and NEF.

An analysis of teachers' salary reveals unequal distribution of salary, especially between government and non-government teachers. Even with 25 years of teaching experience at BECS, Sarah's salary is one third of the newly appointed government female teachers and one sixth of the senior male teachers with government jobs in Mountain Village. This widely unequal salary, benefits and working conditions

produce social stratifications and expanding income disparities in a traditionally egalitarian agricultural society.

In this context, the BECS provincial teacher union has organized several strikes and sit-in protests, where teachers from more than 500 schools in GB came out *en masse* from their villages and joined protests in Gilgit. The protesting teachers demanded their rights for higher salaries and job regularization as government employees. BECS teachers, through their strikes, succeeded in highlighting their basic issues in local and national media, but the government still has not accepted their basic demand to regularize their jobs. The government's indifference towards BECS teachers had fueled teacher strikes, resulting in the closure of schools for 55 days in 2014, during one of the long protests. Sarah shared her active engagement in the protests organized by the teacher union:

> The first sit-in protest was held for 55 days [at Gilgit city] and then the next one was for 10 to 12 days…[I]t was announced [by the union] that we close down all schools and come to join the protest [in Gilgit]. We closed down the school and then joined sit-in protests for 55 days…[W]e were outdoors [for the strike] in the extreme cold weather…[T]he union members had arranged floor mats and installed a temporary shelter tent for us. We were staying there [outside protesting] during day time and then in the evening we went to our relatives' home to sleep…Female teachers had problems due to accommodation issue, so we were unable to stay away from home for long periods and some [female teachers] returned to the villages after joining a few of sit-in protests.

BECS teachers' sit-in protests were located right across from the provincial assembly. In the last decade, Chief Ministers and other political representatives from different political parties have negotiated with the protesting teachers. The teachers ended one of their protests after getting assurances from the current Chief Minister. Sarah was disappointed from the government's indifference towards BECS teachers and its unfilled promises:

> In the end [of the negotiations] the Chief Minister asked protestors to end the sit-in protest and he promised to the protesting teachers that "I am not authorized now but as soon as I will get powers, your [teachers] case will be solved as the top priority." He made a promise which, so far, has not implemented. There have been just few visits for verification [of teachers' data].

Sarah was critical of the way government had failed to address the issues of teachers in hundreds of BECS schools for nearly two decades.

Additional Roles and Home Chores for a Female Teacher

Sarah frequently highlighted her overwhelming workload during the interview and repeatedly used the phrase "I have a lot of workload." Besides working full-time as a teacher at the school, she has multiple tasks at home. Sarah's husband works in a city and sends his earnings regularly to the family, but he returns to the village only once every 6 or 7 months. Without her husband's physical presence in the village, Sarah is the head of household with all the responsibilities and burdens. She has to perform not only women's traditional roles, but also laborious farming tasks that would normally be done by men. In addition, Sarah alone raises her seven children

and is overwhelmed with multiple tasks. Sarah elaborated on the workload in her daily life:

> I get up around 4:30am with Azaan [Islamic call for prayers], then perform prayers and prepare breakfast. After that, I help [my] children get ready for school…I check cattle and provide fodder [to cows] and then go to school…In the afternoon, we have to do home chores, like dish washing, cooking, washing clothes, taking care of cattle, cooking. Being a female, we have to do all these kinds of tasks.

Sarah believed that a female teacher has more work than a male teacher, because traditionally a male has only a few limited tasks outside of school, while a female teacher is overburdened outside of school. Comparing male and female teachers, she said: "we have more problems than male teachers." She continued comparing: "what work does a male have to do? Men have to just water the fields, while women have to do all the rest of the [farming] tasks and are responsible for all home chores…[M]ost of the agricultural work is assigned to women; women grow potatoes, weeding fields etc.

Sarah has little help at home as all her seven children go to school and only the oldest daughter helps her in cooking. Her husband sends money but without receiving a salary from school for over a year, Sarah had to struggle paying for her children's educational cost and other household expenses. In spring, she grows potatoes and earns some money by selling potatoes from her fields. In winters, she had no time to collect wood from forests in the mountains; hence, she has to spend hard earned money to buy firewood.

Sarah's case presents a clear description of the complexities, difficulties and challenges in the daily lives of rural female teachers. Understanding a female teachers' daily life and their roles in the society is critical to understanding rural teachers' preparation, career, opportunities and barriers.

Gender Dimension: Advantages and Disadvantages for Female

Sarah discussed different roles of men and women in the society with a focus on the roles of female teachers inside and outside the school. Sarah had observed in the last 25 years that no women were included in the village's education committee. She believed that the exclusion of women in the public sphere is part of the local traditions where only men make collective decisions. There are some exceptions. For example, Sarah was invited for a meeting of female farmers organized by an NGO for rural development. The NGO consulted women including Sarah to plan the establishing of a farm for women to grow vegetables at a barren land near the village. However, the NGO staff never returned for a follow up after the first meeting with the women of the village.

As one of the first educated women and a female teacher, Sarah is a trailblazer in Mountain Village. She has contributed to the promoting of girl's education, and young female teachers were inspired by her. She had been advocating for equal educational opportunities for girls. However, it was puzzling to note that Sarah was sending her three sons to the private school and paying tuition fees, while her four daughters were enrolled in the government school. Parents, including teachers, generally perceive the private school as the best quality institution in the village, but only a few parents could afford to pay tuition fees. Sarah's first reason for sending

only her sons to the private school was less convincing, given that she pointed to the high fee as the barrier for not sending her girls to the private school:

> There are problems, we cannot afford to pay fee for all [children]…[T]wo of my daughters insist to go to the private school [like their brothers] … I respond that we can't afford [to pay fees for every child]…[but] this year I accepted one daughter's request for the private school in another village. but then she agreed to go to the government [free school] in [Grade] 9th, because teaching and textbooks are the same…[S]he now walks daily to the neighboring village [to go to the government school].

Sarah recognized that traditional privilege of boys is reflected in school selection and girls are discriminated against. "My daughters work harder than my sons, but I have to follow societal norms to prefer boys. As per the society requirements, our sons are [pause]...we ourselves decided to send them [sons] to private schools." She further explained the reasons for preference given to boys when selecting a school: "most of the girls are in the government school and boys are in the private school…[T]he reason is people of the village think that their sons [once educated] would earn money for their families [parents]. They think that their sons would become engineers and doctors…"

Gender preferences in Mountain Village are clearly visible in enrollment at the private school. Enrollment analysis reveal that 61% of the children enrolled at the private school are boys compared to only 39% for girls. Sarah, along with other parents, still prefer enrolling boys in the private school.

Another important gender issue for teachers is that more male teachers have government jobs, even at the girls' school. There are 4 male teachers as compared to only 2 female government teachers at GGMS. Interestingly, no female participants explicitly raised this issue in their interviews.

Lastly, Sarah shared her future ambitions and appeared committed for further education, within the constraint at Mountain Village:

> If I get a chance, *Inshallah* [if Allah wills or God willing], if government engaged me in any service [secured a government job], I would like to study. *Inshallah*, I will continue my study. I cannot continue as a regular candidate, but I can get admission in Allama Iqbal Open University [distance learning]. I am interested in studying, so I will attend workshops in B.Ed. or M.Ed. [degree programs] from Allam Iqbal Open University. But, what can I do? We have many issues; we have very limited resources, so we are facing problems.

Sarah's limited financial resources compound her problems. She has no time for part-time earning at the private school, as she pointed out: "I have a lot of challenges and work load at home. I can't [work at the private school]." Sarah, as the most senior female teacher, is a trailblazer in the village but she remains overwhelmed with a very heavy workload at home, farm and school. A delay in payment of her salary for nearly one year, and insecurity of her teaching job for the last 25 years, make her daily life more stressful and difficult in a remote rural village with limited alternative opportunities.

Case 10: Ms. Sahar

Profile

Sahar was born and raised in Mountain Village. She has been teaching full-time at BECS for the last ten years. She completed her schooling up to Grade 10 at the village and then pursued her F.A. and B.A. from a college in a neighboring town. She passed her M.A. as a private candidate and acquired all the professional certificates required for teaching at the elementary and high school level. Despite being a highly qualified female in the village, she hasn't gotten any government teaching job. Teaching was her first-choice career as she was inspired by her female teacher and then started teaching voluntarily right after her Grade 8 at the community school. Initially, she was paid Rs.1,000 [US$8] by the community, and in 2014, she got the BECS contract at the same school and started receiving salary directly from the government. At the time of her interview in March 2019 her salary of Rs. 9,000 from BECS was overdue for one year. Sahar, along with other teachers, have actively joined sit-in protests to demand for their overdue salaries and job security from the government. In afternoons, Sahar works as a part-time teacher at the PMS, where she gets paid regularly and learns from other senior teachers.

Early Schooling Experience and Interest in Teaching

Sahar's completed her schooling from Grade 1 to Grade 10 at the village's community school and coaching center. After Grade 10, she had to walk daily for the next four years to a neighboring town to complete Grade 12 and her B.A.

She was inspired by her teachers in the village and observed her teachers as role models. Her primary school was the SAP community school, where Ms. Sarah

was her favorite teacher. She liked Ms. Sarah because she was calm and showed patience even when students were noisy in the classroom. Sahar was excited to go to school and her early schooling experience was joyful. Sahar believed that her observation of her teachers' teaching during early schooling has had an influence on her teaching practice. For example, Sahar tries to be calm and show more patience in her classes as her own teacher Ms. Sarah did.

Sahar's interest in teaching was further strengthened when she began teaching voluntarily at the community school after her Grade 8. Sahar shared her experience of developing her interest in teaching in these words:

> Actually, we didn't see any profession other than teaching [in the village] so how could we develop an interest in any other professions. School was close to my home. I was taking my younger brother and sister to the school and then teaching there [part-time] when asked by other teachers to assist them. So, I developed an interest [in teaching] and then continued teaching.

In the above except, Sahar pointed out that she has not observed women working in any other professions in her village. Therefore, becoming interested in teaching was natural for her, especially when she got inspired from her female teachers as role models. Teaching remains the most acceptable and respected profession for women in the village and there are no paid jobs, except teaching, in the four schools in the village.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

Sahar began her teaching career as a part-time volunteer teacher at the community school. The school was close to her home and she started teaching early

grade children. After two years of volunteer teaching, she got selected for a full-time community teacher job at the same school and started getting a salary. Sahar elaborated on the process of her entry into her teaching positions from her first appointment:

> The SAP [community] school was close to my home, so I used to go there as part-time volunteer teacher…[Initially,] they [the community] didn't pay as I was in Grade 8. And then after matric [Grade 10], I appeared in a test for a teaching position at the community school. After the test they started giving me [monthly] Rs. 1,000 [US$7]. Before that I was going there teaching kids for free and sometimes I was not regularly teaching. After high school, the SAP Director visited our school. He assured me that once one of the positions (out of five teachers) will be vacant, I will be appointed as a replacement teacher if I continue to teach voluntarily. So, I continued working there as I was getting pay from the community. Later on, one teacher left the school and moved to Islamabad, and then I got appointed in 2014 in SAP [BECS/community school].

She further revealed the process of her getting recruited as an employee of BECS and, thus, being eligible for government salary:

> The Director already knew about this [my past experience at the same school] and he had checked my letter [from the community]. I showed letters and all required documents. The Director called the teacher who left the school to inquire the reasons and she replied that "you didn't pay salary on time and then my family moved to Islamabad. So, I prefer to leave the teaching job."

> So, I got appointed to replace her and I started receiving a salary, initially Rs. 6,000 and then 9,000. However, I haven't received [my] salary for the last one year.

In addition to full-time teaching at BECS, Sahar has been teaching at the private middle school (PMS) for nearly ten years. She raised several concerns regarding jobs issues with BECS, but she appeared satisfied with her afternoon teaching job at PMS. Her monthly salary from PMS increased from Rs. 2,000 (US$14) in 2008-09 to around Rs. 9,000 (US$65) in 2019. Sahar is one of the two female teachers from BECS to work as part-time teachers at PSM.

Sahar applied once for a government teaching job, but without success. In her understanding, she didn't get the job because there was only one vacancy and another female teacher got the job, because she secured higher marks in the test. Another issue pointed out by Sahar was the ineligibility of teachers to apply for schools outside their village due to the new recruitment policy based on hard area. "We cannot apply to any teaching vacancies for schools outside our village, because all the neighboring villages are declared hard area [only local residents can apply]." This new policy has a positive impact to recruit local teachers from the same village, but the policy limits job opportunities for those who have no vacancies in their own village schools. Sahar's opportunities for a government job are extremely limited and she is still waiting for another vacancy; however, the government has not announced any new jobs.

While working as a teacher, Sahar continued to improve her academic as well as professional qualifications through distance learning. Besides an M.A. degree, she has successfully completed three professional courses as described in the next section.

Preservice Teacher Education and Influences

Since Sahar began part-time teaching right after Grade 8, she acquired all educational certifications while teaching. Sahar's first certification was the primary teaching certificate (PTC) in 2006-07, followed by a certificate in teaching (CT.) in 2010. In order to apply for government teaching positions in a primary school, applicants need a CT and a Grade 12 high school certificate. Sahar further improved her qualifications and completed a B.Ed. degree in 2014, making her eligible to apply for government teaching positions at all levels of schools. All the three professional certification and degrees – PTC, CT, B.Ed. – were possible through distance learning. Sahar had to send assignments to tutors by mail, complete end-of-semester exams and present practicum lessons as part of her certificate and degree programs.

Sahar stated that she has adapted some teaching methods learned from her PTC, CT and B.Ed. She found these professional courses helpful for her teaching. "Initially, I got frustrated in classes when children didn't listen, but gradually I got to used it and learned [methods] through PTC and CT courses."

Inservice Training and Influences

Sahar found very few inservice training opportunities during her ten-year teaching career at the two schools in the village. As a teacher of BECS, she participated in only one short-term training organized by NEF in 2014. The one-week training was held at a neighboring village and the training focused on primary level

teaching methods. She has not been provided any other training in the last four years at BECS. Sahar was critical of the government's attitude towards BECS teachers and the lack of support: "We don't get any training or salary or support from SAP [BECS managed by NEF]. It's been 12 months since we received our last pay. How much money is needed to run an educational institution? We receive nothing."

On the other hand, Sahar appreciated the support she has received from the private school. "In the private school, the principal is interested in teacher training. "The principal and other senior teachers provide guidance in our classes at the private school. When we share our weaknesses, they [senior teachers] guide us," she said. She has participated in two training programs as a private school teacher. She said: "we got a training from AFAQ [a not-for-profit private organization]. AFAQ training was for three days in the neighboring village in 2017. The principal of the private school sent us for the training. The training was conducted twice."

Sahar is teaching English and Urdu at the primary and middle school levels. Although she is a BECS teacher responsible for only primary level classes, she is teaching Urdu for Grade 8 at GGMS, because BECS and GGMS combine their resources, including classes and teachers. Sahar is a class teacher for Grade 5 and satisfied with her teaching outcomes. "I have been teaching English for Grade 5 for the last three years and no one has failed in my class. In my Grade 8 class I was teaching history and geography with 100% good results. This year, I have been assigned Urdu for Grade 8."

Since she is teaching in both PMS and BECS, she compared both schools in terms of parental involvement:

> In private school, parents pay fees, so they pay more attention. And parents work hard [with their children] to complete the task we assign. In government schools, parents are not paying attention to children's education, even though teachers are good and teaching hours are more in the government school. Parents don't support and students learn from the teachers only [in the government school].

Sahar's preservice and inservice trainings provided her information on new teaching approaches, but the trainings were less relevant to the local mountainous environment. Even though she has not received training about the local environment, she continues to advocate for environmental protection. "We teach students about the environment and advocate for not cutting forests to avoid floods. Sometimes, a similar topic is in the textbook and we discuss. In our area people still cut the forest."

Generally, teachers in rural villages get few training opportunities. In recent years, most of the inservice training programs were funded by donors and focused exclusively on government teachers. Sahar's case shows that Sahar, not being a government teacher, was excluded from the inservice training programs on reading skills and other relevant areas, even though she is teaching English and Urdu languages to students at a government school.

Challenges and Barriers for Female Teachers

Wide Inequalities in Working Conditions and Teacher Protest

With a qualification of an M.A. and a B.Ed., Sahar is one of the most highly qualified female teachers in Mountain Village. Over the last ten years, she has been teaching at BECS and PMS, but she still earns much less than the government

teachers with less qualifications. Unlike government school teachers, all the five teachers at BECS are female teachers with a monthly salary of Rs. 9,000 [US$64] without any long-term job contracts. Sahar, like other BECS teachers, has always received her salary late and, at the time of the interview in March 2019, her salary was overdue for one year. Sahar was concerned about the unequal treatment and unequal salary for an equal effort of teachers. "Now I am in the school today just like Sir Sajid, right? I have been teaching [with same effort] right? Sir Sajid will get his monthly pay, right? Where should we go to get our pay? We demand justice." Sahar further explained the disparities between teachers with similar workload but different contracts at the school:

> We work exactly like the government teachers who get paid Rs. 60,000 [US$430] to 80,000 [US$570]. We perform same duties for free. We have the same classes, the same closing time, the same work. You have observed the way the principal and other teachers teach. Our teaching and working hours are exactly the same, but we don't get a salary, even though we have the same classes and same students…

Sahar's salary and job issues were to some extent similar to Sarah's case discussed earlier. Sahar reiterated the issues of low salary, delay in payment of salary and job contracts: "The government is not supporting us. They promise we will be appointed [as government employees] today, tomorrow and the time has gone now for most teachers [becoming overage for government jobs]. They don't announce government positions, so where should we go?"

Female Teachers' Active Participation in Teacher Strikes

Sahar has actively participated in BECS teachers' union-organized strikes and joined the protests demanding their rights, higher salaries and regular job contracts. Sahar described her experience of joining teacher strikes and some of the issues faced by the female teachers:

> I didn't know what a sit-in protest is, so we five teachers all joined the protest. We all teachers contacted each other. When we arrived in Gilgit protest area, some female teachers were already there on the road. [Since] we didn't know teachers from other areas, we started learning and knowing about other teachers. We shared common concerns of not getting paid on time and not getting a regular [government] job. Our sit-in protest was outside the Chief Minister's Office. I heard that he [Chief Minister] came out, but I didn't see him. He [the Chief Minister] said, teachers' issues are a federal government problem and not his problem. We continued our protest demanding that he [the Chief Minister] contact the federal government to resolve the issue…[W]e had joined the protest late, so we were there for only 20 or 22 days…We had to go to relatives' homes to sleep. Both male and female teachers joined the protest as we all were fighting against injustice. One day a female teacher from another district died due to stress and heart problems. Then, the male teachers asked the female teachers to leave the protest and return to villages, but we said we are not going anywhere, even if we die here. [T]hey [the government] have already killed [denied our job rights] for the last 25 years…[I]f we were not eligible [for teaching], why has the government

> kept our case pending until this time… [P]oliticians came and made speeches with no action. Finally, the new Chief Minister came and said, "I need your prayers and as soon as I get my powers, I will solve your case, I will use my pen [authority to approve] in your favor; teachers are the most respected." After his assurances, the teacher ended the strike…

Sahar was disappointed with the indifferent attitude of successive governments. "The Chief Minister is still unable to implement his promises made four years ago to teachers." Both political representatives and government bureaucrats were enjoying their perks and enjoying their high jobs, while the poor teachers keep suffering, according to Sahar. She shared an example of the response teachers get when they follow up for their overdue salary:

> We received last pay in March 2018 and now it's March 2019 without receiving our salary for one year. When we ask the Director of SAP [BECS] schools, every time he keeps responding that we will receive [our pay] at the beginning of next month; then we ask again after some time and he would respond that now cheques are being prepared...

Sahar announced the next steps for their movement to fight for teachers' rights: "Now teachers are thinking to go for another strike, along with school children. If we don't get our issues resolved, then we have no other option than to protest. At least teachers with a long service should get a pension."

Sahar realized that other female teachers with dependent children were facing financial difficulties due to low pay and delay in payment. Unlike most of other female teachers at BECS, Sahar earns a salary from her part-time teaching at BECS

and as a single teacher she has no responsibility for children at home. Sahar raised her concerns about the social and economic pressures faced by the BECS female teachers in the village:

> I don't have many problems at home, as I don't have responsibility for children, but other female teachers say that their family [in-laws] tell them "why do you go for teaching when you don't get paid a salary." Even people in the village would sarcastically call the teachers "the teachers without salary." When female teachers meet, we discuss with each other "why is there injustice from the government? What was our sin? If this is how a government manages an important sector of education, then how would the government manage other sectors? The government should make education a priority. Teachers express their frustrations…[T]he senior government officials and politicians make fake promises, but people [teachers] are not their priority. We are discouraged.

Other Barriers for Female Teachers

Sahar pointed out that cultural barriers don't allow women to travel alone and a female teacher is dependent on male family members to accompany them for travelling outside the village. This custom limited the mobility of female teachers as compared to men, who have freedom to travel alone or ride a bike:

> Actually, a man could ride a bike and easily commute, but we as women have to be accompanied by a family member [a close male relative] and we need to arrange a driver [for transportation]. We always need to keep someone [a close male relative] … [On the contrary,] a male teacher can simply go

anywhere quickly…You have seen the poor condition of the road to our village. We don't have vehicles and transportation remains a key problem.

Sahar, along with other female teachers, had shown resilience and their services are valuable in promoting girls' education in the village. Sahar recognized the support from male teachers and the school management committee (SMC). In her opinion, the BECS school was operational, even without a budget from government, only because of support from the SMC and male teachers from other schools. She noted that NEF is providing textbooks to BECS students, but all other support, including school supplies and furniture, etc., are arranged with support from the two other schools – GGMS and PMS. At PMS, Sahar find more professional support as she mentioned: "when we face any teaching problems, we seek advice from senior teachers, and they guide us. Our principal asks about problems and discusses them during meetings. If we need wood for class or cleaning, he makes all the arrangements."

Besides all the issues and challenges, the community and teachers of Mountain Village successfully operate their schools through collective efforts and combining resources. This unique combination of resources and school management in the village may appear complex with administrative boundaries blurred, especially for an outsider, but it works well for the community in the given context.

Two Male Teachers at the Private Middle School

Case 11: Mr. Hussain

Profile

Hussain, aged 40, was born and raised at Mountain Village. He completed his primary school in his village and then continued schooling for the next five years at a high school in a neighboring village. He had to walk two hours every day to go to his high school. Hussain left his village for higher education and lived in Karachi for 5 years until he completed a B.A. degree. Since his return to the village in 2002, he has been working as a teacher at the private middle school. During the last 17 years in his village, Hussain served the community by providing free volunteer teaching service at multiple schools.

Early Schooling Experience and Interest in Teaching

Hussain's primary school in Mountain Village had only two classrooms, and all six grades had to use those two classrooms. With two government teachers, the school was essentially using multigrade teaching methods for all six grades. After completing primary school, Hussain continued studies at a high school in a neighboring village, but he was not satisfied with the teaching quality. He stated that: "we were 150 students in Grade11 and all 150 failed in final exams." Hussain attributed failure in English subject to poor teaching quality among other factors. He pointed out that traditional teaching methods with only lectures were used in his high school. Hussain, disappointed after failing Grade11 exams, decided to leave the valley and go to Karachi for further education. In Karachi, he had to work part-time

to cover his educational expenses. Finally, he completed a B.A. degree and returned to Mountain Village in 2000.

Hussain believed that his own school teachers were using traditional lecture methods for teaching; thus, he commented, his teaching approach was not influenced positively by his teachers. Instead of his teachers' old teaching methods, Hussain has developed his own teaching practice, with experience.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

In 2002, Hussain joined the private primary school (now middle school) soon after returning from Karachi. Unlike government schools, a teaching certification was not required to become a teacher in the private school. He didn't receive any induction or orientation at the school and his first teaching experience was extremely difficult. When he joined the school, two existing female teachers left the school and he was alone teaching 5 grades during the first 10 days of his teaching career. He shared the challenging task of teaching and managing the school when he had just entered the teaching profession:

> I was teaching five grades and it was one of the most challenging tasks. I used to teach the first class, then lock the kids in the classroom and move to the second class and then lock their class after the lesson and move to the third class… [B]y the time I reached back to the first class, the school time would be over. I was exhausted and stressed out in those ten days, and then I invited the community to form the SMC [School Management Committee] and requested them [SMC] to recruit more teachers.

The SMC accepted Hussain's request for an urgent hiring of community teachers and provided more teachers to the school, making Hussain's teaching workload more manageable.

Hussain had been teaching in multiple schools in Mountain Village. While he has continuously taught at the PMS for the last 17 years, he had worked voluntarily at GBPS for two years without any salary in 2008-09. In addition, he worked as the head teacher at SAP primary community school (now called BECS) during 2006-09, for a monthly salary of Rs. 1,200 for two years and one year without any salary.

At the PMS, 7 out of 9 male teachers have a government job and work part-time in afternoons at the PMS. Hussain is one of the only two male teachers without a government job. Although he possesses the certifications required for a government teaching job, he didn't succeed in getting recruited. Now he is overage for a government job and expects to continue teaching at PMS the rest of his career.

Preservice and Inservice Training

In his 17 years of teaching career, Hussain didn't receive any inservice trainings. However, he took initiatives to improve his professional qualifications and completed a one-year CT course through distance learning from AIOU in 2012. In addition, he completed a B.Ed. degree as a private candidate from KIU in 2014. He didn't get any other training opportunities in the last five years. He believes his teaching practice has developed with experience.

Hussain's interview was shortened due to his class schedule.

Case 12: Mr. Salman

Profile

Salman was born and raised in Mountain Village. In his late 30's, Salman has been successfully leading the private middle school (PMS) as the principal. He played a key role in transforming the school, making it the best quality school in Mountain Village. After his early schooling in the village, Salman pursued higher education in Lahore, where he completed an M.A. degree. He didn't get any inservice training opportunities but had completed a B.Ed. degree. Salman is working as a government employee in the Forest Department and during afternoons he works at the PMS. He teaches English, Science and Social Studies at Grade 5-8 level. He believed his interest in teaching was developed as a result of the direct influence from his father, who promoted girls' education and helped construct the first school building for girls in Mountain Village.

Early Schooling Experience and Interest in Teaching

Salman completed his primary school in Mountain Village and then high school in a neighboring village. He shared that influence of his teachers, stating: "all teachers with exception of Mr. Ali were teaching using old methods. Mr. Ali was educated from a renowned university and used to engage students in classroom effectively." After Grade 10 from the neighboring village, Salman left the area and pursued higher education at Lahore, where he completed an M.A. degree in Literature.

In 2006, Salman had to return to Mountain Village after the death of his father, as Salman had to take charge of his family responsibilities. Salman attributed

his interest in teaching to influences from his father. Salman was proud of his father's leading role in community development. While explaining inspirations from his father, Salman mentioned that his "father was illiterate but knew German, French and English languages. He [Salman's father] wanted to promote education." Salman's father was actively involved in promoting education in Mountain Village. He had helped bringing in foreign donors and built a community school building. Currently, GGMS and PMS are utilizing the building constructed with funding from the donors, which were mobilized by Salman's father.

Becoming a Teacher in the Village: The Recruitment Process

When Salman returned to his village, he got an offer from a school in Gilgit city, but he preferred to accept a request from his own community to lead the private school as the principal, even though the salary was lower in the village. Salman was highly motived to start his teaching career by teaching English and at the same time leading the school as the principal. He described the situation of the school at the time of his joining:

> In 2007, there were only 36 students in the private primary school, and we were five teachers [one female] … [W]e tried hard to develop the school system. My salary was Rs. 2,000 and we [teachers] contributed [Rs.] 500 each and hired an additional teacher using teachers' contributions. When we improved the school, then enrollment increased, and the institution became a strong stable school.

Although, people call the school a private or English medium school, Salman clarified that the school ownership and governance rests with the community through

the SMC. He further added that "the school is registered as a not-for-profit community school with DoE, Government of GB, and we receive Rs. 25,000 annually as NGO grant."

Preservice and Inservice Training

Salman didn't get any inservice training opportunities, but he was able to complete a B.Ed. degree as a private candidate from KIU. Salman believed some content of his B.Ed. was helpful, and he learned about teaching methods from his program. His trainings didn't include any content relevant to the mountain context, but he did mention that "we teach about environmental education when there is a relevant topic, even though it was not part of a B.Ed."

Another issue highlighted by Salman was a lack of inservice training opportunities. The reasons explained by Salman were remoteness and lack of training programs offered by the government. In order to address training needs of other teachers in his school, sometimes Salman sent them for trainings organized by private textbook publishers[11].

Challenges and Barriers

At PMS, more boys are enrolled than girls. Salman shared his view on the possible explanations for higher male enrollment at PMS. In his understanding, there were less girls enrolled in the private school because the quality of GGMS was better than GBPS. So, many parents prefer sending boys to PMS. He strongly believed that now parents don't give preference to boys and there were less cultural barriers for female education, compared to the past. Nevertheless, he accepted that "generally,

[11] This was confirmed by a female teacher during her interview as she availed one such training.

there is a gender bias in the whole Pakistan, though now situation is better than before." Presumably, this forces girls' parents to choose between the "better" school and the one where their daughters won't be in class with boys.

Another important issue raised by Salman was poverty, resulting in many parents being unable to pay fees. Unlike for-profit private schools, PMS was supporting poor and orphan students. Salman reported that "we have 10-15 orphans and we don't charge any fees. In addition, we waive tuition and buy books for extremely poor but talented students, using financial contributions from our teachers."

While discussing teacher assignments and contracts, Salman reported that 4 out of 13 teachers are female and the average salary of a teacher is Rs. 8,000, with the minimum at Rs. 3,000 and maximum at Rs. 15,000 per month. Salman provided important information that 7 out of the 9 male teachers at PMS already had a government full-time job. This trend revealed that no female teachers working at PMS had government jobs, but nearly all government jobs were held by male teachers in Mountain Village.

Salman had both a professional certification (B.Ed.) as well as an academic degree (M.A. in Literature) required for a government teaching position. Similar to other prospective teachers in Mountain Village, he had been trying to get a government teaching position. He shared that "last year, I applied for a government teaching job through FPSC. I passed the test in Islamabad and then appeared for the interview, but I was not selected." Salman concluded that the discussion on his teaching career by saying "everyone wants to get a government teaching job to work less and earn high salaries."

CHAPTER 9: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter begins with a discussion of key findings of the study categorized as main themes emerging from cross-case analysis. The two main themes address my research questions for this study. Then, I discuss implications of findings of this study for theory and policy. In the last section, I conclude the dissertation by presenting contributions of the dissertation, limitations and areas for future research in the field of teacher preparation and recruitment.

Cross-Case Analysis and Key Findings

Since each teacher is considered an individual case in this study, the findings and in-depth analysis presented in the previous chapters were organized separately for each case. It is important to understand the context of individual cases; hence, the key findings in this section may not be exhaustive as some findings unique to individual cases remain significant, even if not represented in general themes across cases. However, in this section I attempt to organize key findings around two major themes, connected directly to my two research questions.

The first theme on different pathways into teaching in different school types and within same school responds to the research question 1: What are the pathways into teaching in different types of rural primary and middle schools (public, private and community schools) for female and male teachers? The first theme is a broad theme on pathways into teaching in remote areas. This theme covers important sub-themes such as teacher recruitment policy context; different pathways into teaching; and, teaching workforce distribution.

The second theme is a general theme capturing different perceptions and experiences of male and female teachers about teacher education programs. This theme attempts to respond to research question 2 (and its two sub questions): 2. How do female and male rural primary teachers perceive the relevance and impact of their apprenticeship, preservice and inservice teacher education for their classroom practices? (2a). In what types of teacher education or professional development experiences (both formal and informal) have these rural teachers participated? (2b). Which experiences do they perceive as most influential (positively and negatively) in shaping their practice?

It is noted that, over the course of the dissertation study, some components related to the research questions became less central and, therefore, the data collected provided only a limited amount of content. These components included informal learning phases of apprenticeship and induction as well as the relevance of training (e.g. cultural relevance and holistic education). On the other hand, the teacher recruitment process and gender disparities, including gender pay gap, emerged as more central themes, because teachers attributed more significance to these themes. Also, female teachers brought up the issue of teachers' low pay and strikes, while discussing pay gap. Thus, I attempted to bring those voices to the foreground in this dissertation write-up.

Theme 1: Different Pathways into Teaching in Remote Areas

This theme responds to research question 1 and illuminates the different pathways into teaching in a rural and remote context. As part of the institutional perspective, the government policy on teacher recruitment (Government of Gilgit-

Baltistan, 2011, 2020) shows entry into teaching profession as a linear, straight forward process. An analysis of government policy documents present teacher recruitment as a clearly defined process including a test, interview and a list of academic and professional certifications required to enter into the teaching profession at various levels. However, the case studies in this dissertation present different individual perspectives. Teachers perceived and experienced pathways into teaching as a more complex and individualized experience, with wide disparities between and among male and female teachers. More importantly, the findings from this study problematize teacher policy and practice in Pakistan.

Local Policy Context and Global Reforms Agenda

In the last decade, Pakistan's government, with support from donors, has initiated several reforms in the education sector with a focus on teacher policy aimed to improve teacher qualifications and quality. A part of the reforms' agenda was the introduction of new standards for teachers, new teacher education programs including ADE and B.Ed. (see Appendix 2), and an amended teacher recruitment policy, among other reforms (Government of Pakistan, 2009b; Higher Education Commission, 2012; USAID, 2013).

In Gilgit-Baltistan, the government actively reformed its provincial teacher policies in line with the national reform agendas through donor-funded initiatives (Government of Gilgit-Baltistan, 2011, 2012). The province adopted the USAID-funded new teacher education programs, and since 2010 the provincial teacher training institutions (TTIs) have been offering ADE and B.Ed. (Hons.). A more nuanced understanding of teacher policy reforms necessitates a critical analysis of

policies and processes. Teachers working in remote areas are often isolated geographically but the local teacher policy context remains linked to the global developments and international policy transfers (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). Researchers posited that education policy around the world is influenced by actors from local to international at various levels (Ginsburg et al., 1990; Moutsios, 2009; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004).

An analysis of Gilgit-Baltistan's local policy reforms – particularly new teacher education programs – suggest that reforms were driven mainly by the national (e.g. Federal MoE) and international actors (e.g. World Bank, USAID and DfID). Pakistan's National Education Policy 2009 envisioned all school teachers to have at least a bachelor's degree by 2018 (Government of Pakistan, 2009a). In line with the national vision, all the provincial governments introduced a 2-year ADE program and a 4-year B.Ed. (Hons.) program with intention to increase the minimum entry recruitment into teaching and replace the traditional CT and the one-year B.Ed., programs (Pre-STEP/USAID, 2010).

According to the government recruitment policy, a minimum academic qualification of F.A./F.Sc. or equivalent (Grade 12 Certificate) and a professional qualification of a CT./D.I.E./ADE or equivalent are required for elementary school teachers (Government of Gilgit-Baltistan, 2011). During the teacher recruitment process, the applicants with qualifications higher than the minimum requirements get additional five marks. According to the recruitment rules, "05 additional marks will be allocated to the candidates having the additional professional qualification, i.e.

B.Ed. BS.Ed. M.Ed./MA Education or equivalent" (Government of Gilgit-Baltistan, 2011, p. 2).

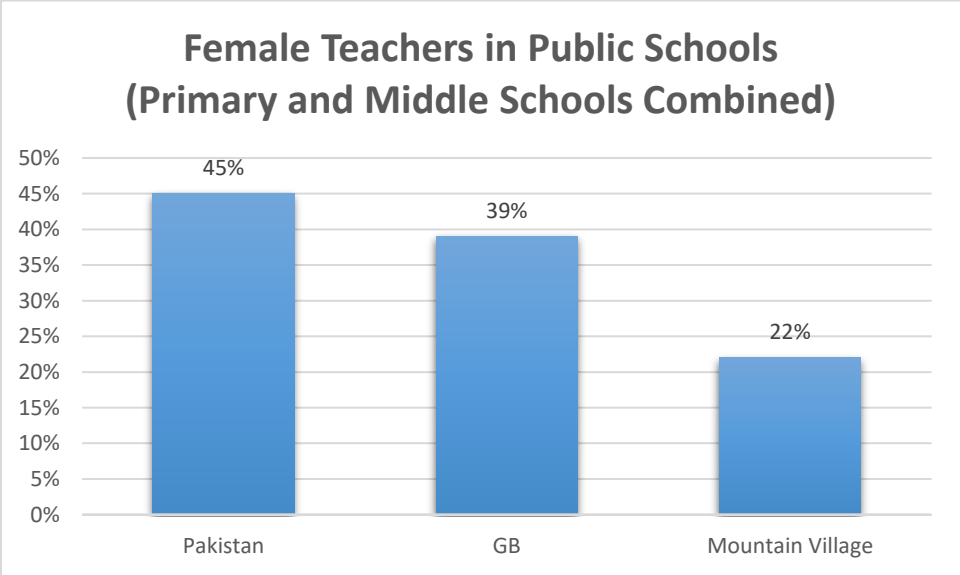
However, this study found no teachers with the new degrees of ADE and B.Ed. (Hons.) in Mountain Village, even after ten years of the launch of these new teacher education programs. An analysis of participants' qualifications revealed that all the twelve teachers had traditional professional qualifications of one-year CT or/and B.Ed. (see Table 17 under theme 2 in this chapter), including 5 teachers who began their teaching careers after the policy and programs were adopted in 2009. More importantly, all government permanent teachers, including the two recently (2017-18) recruited teachers, entered into teaching using the tradition pathways based on CT. and B.Ed. Since, no participants had experienced newly introduced certifications, I was unable to find their perceptions about these recent reforms. This finding suggests that reforms are taking a much longer time than intended to reach schools and teachers, at least in remote areas.

Unequal Teacher Distribution and Local Responses

Globally, more female than male teachers work in primary schools. However, the disaggregated data on teacher distribution reveal wide inequalities based on gender and location, between and within provinces of Pakistan. A comparison of proportion of government female teachers working in public elementary schools (both primary and middle) in Pakistan, GB and Mountain Village is presented in Figure 15.

Figure 15

Proportion of Female Teachers in Government Schools



Note. Author calculations using data from Pakistan Education Statistics 2016-17 (Government of Pakistan, 2018); and, village level data collected by the author in March 2019.

Figure 15 shows gender disparity at three levels within Pakistan. Only two out of nine government teachers were female in Mountain Village, which is around 22% and much lower than provincial level of 39% and national level of 45% at the elementary school level. The low proportion of female teachers in government service remains a major issue in GB and requires urgent action from the government to prioritize recruitment of more female teachers. However, the government of Gilgit-Baltistan recently (in March 2020) advertised 269 job vacancies for elementary school teachers (ESTs) but only 89 (33%) EST positions were allocated for females (Government of Gilgit-

Baltistan, 2020). This recruitment trend indicates that the recruitment of more female teachers is not a priority, even in early 2020.

In Mountain Village, overall, there were 12 male teachers compared to 11 female teachers working in four different types of schools (see Table 10 in chapter 5). However, most of male teachers were government employees, while most of female teachers were temporary teachers. The average age of teacher was 37 years, but male teachers' average age was much higher at 43 years compared to female teachers' average age of 28 years. Out of total 12 male teachers, 7 were government permanent teachers and 3 were government employees in other departments. In contrast, only 2 out of 11 female teachers were government permanent teachers. Some possible explanations for gender disparity in employment conditions and pay are briefly discussed in the next section, but further research is needed to better understand multiple factors contributing to the disparity.

In order to maximize resource utilization to fulfil educational needs of the village, the local community through its school management committees (SMCs) and teachers have responded by combining schools and teachers for girls. At the village level, three out of four schools utilized a single building and shared resources. The GGMS and BECS operated as a combined one school with teachers shared for all classes in the morning, while the private middle school (PMS) operated in the afternoon using the same classrooms. GBPS operated in a separate building. All teachers except one were local teachers from Mountain Village. Teachers were closely connected with each other and a cooperative culture existed among them.

Teachers' perceptions in this study confirmed the general perceptions about the quality-based categorization of different types of schools, with the private school perceived as the best quality, the government schools as the medium quality and, finally, the BECS as the lowest quality school (Shafa, 2011; Benz, 2014). Most of the parents, including teachers in all the four schools who could afford paying a tuition fee, enrolled at least their male children at the private school. Besides economic factor, gender bias was clearly visible as only 39% of the total students at the private school were girls. One female teacher at BECS reported that she enrolled her sons in the private school, while she enrolled her girls in the government school, as she was unable to afford paying fees for all children. Parents' preference to sons in Mountain Village is rooted in the traditional system of patriarchy and similar to the findings from research in rural areas of Pakistan (Felmy, 2006). In some cases, parents have low aspirations for girls' educational and career attainment (Kirk, 2006; Stromquist, 1989) and perhaps this might be one of the explanations for low enrollment of girls in the private middle school (PMS). However, the principal of the PMS had a different explanation for higher enrollment of boys at his school. In his opinion, the parents preferred sending boys to PMS due to the low quality of the government boys' primary school, while most of the girls from the village got enrolled in the government girls' school due to its relative better quality.

Also, the findings from analysis of data from Mountain Village – with less female teachers and less girls enrolled at PMS – are in contrast to the general trend in Pakistan where private schools have a high percentage of girls' enrollment and a majority of the teachers are females (Andrabi et al., 2002).

The above discussion strengthens the argument that women teachers as well as female students were disadvantaged. All the community/temporary teachers with extremely low pay were female in all the four different types of schools. From a critical perspective, schools were reproducing social inequalities – with respect to students and to teachers – especially based on gender and socio-economic status (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Collins, 2009).

Becoming a Teacher in Mountain Village

Entry into the teaching profession varies for different types of schools as well as different individuals within the same schools in Mountain Village, as discussed in this section.

First, the teachers at the private middle school (PMS) were recruitment by SMC and/or the principal, mainly through informal ways. There were no minimum requirements (although higher educated teachers were seemingly preferred) and teachers were selected based on the need at the school. Two PMS teachers (Hussain and Salman) were invited by the SMC to join the school and both teachers accepted the SMC's request and entered into teacher profession at PMS, without any other formal requirements or procedures.

Second, the teachers at BECS were initially selected by the SMC and later verified by the Department of Education (DoE). Although, there were no minimum entry requirements, mostly teachers with a minimum Grade 10 school certificate were preferred. All the 5 female teachers at BECS have minimum qualifications required to become a government elementary school teacher (i.e. a minimum academic

qualification of F.A./F.Sc. or equivalent and a professional qualification of a CT./D.I.E./ADE or equivalent).

Third, the teachers at the government primary school for boys (GBPS) were selected as Elementary School Teachers (EST), though government recruitment rules. Only the male teachers from the villages within the local union council area were eligible to apply. In March 2019, three male teachers worked as government permanent teachers at GBPS. Government policy restricts female teachers to apply for teaching vacancies at the GBPS, limiting job opportunities for women, although it should be noted that government deployment practice in Mountain Village do not restrict males from being transferred to teaching positions in girls' schools.

Fourth, teacher recruitment at the government middle school for girls (GGMS) follows the standard government rules and process. The school had three teaching categories: Elementary School Teachers (EST) with Basic Pay Scale (BPS) 14; Trained Graduate Teacher (TGT) with BPS 16; and Head Master (HM) with BPS 17. EST recruitment was the responsibility of provincial DoE, while TGT and HM positions were recruited through FPSC Islamabad. There were 6 government permanent teachers (4 male and 2 female) working at the GGMS, while two teaching positions were vacant. In addition, one community teacher and one contingent teacher were working as temporary teachers. Four male teachers were transferred from other schools to the GGMS. One female permanent teacher was recruited as an EST in 2017, and she was the only female teacher born and educated in Karachi, who moved to Mountain Village after getting married. The second female permanent teacher (Zahra) was recruited as an EST in 2018, through direct appointment after entry test

and interview, but she had to be on a waiting list for one year before the final selection.

Since government teaching jobs are the most prestigious and highest paid jobs in Mountain Village, teachers – both prospective and currently practicing on non-government contracts – endeavor to get recruited as government permanent teachers. Therefore, my discussion on teacher recruitment revolved primarily around teachers' perceptions and real-life experiences identifying critical factors and issues.

Complex and Vague Recruitment process

The findings from most cases revealed a complex and vague recruitment process involving multiple layers of government officials. Using the occupational choice theory, cross-case analysis found that most of the teachers' decision to enter teaching profession was driven by economic and social factors, as teachers perceived teaching as a respected and relatively well high paid jobs. In case of women teachers, they had no alternative job choices because of cultural factors restricting women's travel outside the village. Only one local female teacher (Zahra) succeeded to get a government permanent job. In order to go through the recruitment process, women had to depend on male relatives. Sometimes female teachers had to rely on male relatives to travel with them to participate in testing and interviews, which was not always possible. Moreover, in the case of Zahra, she had to rely on one of her male cousins from Gilgit city to help her throughout the recruitment process, enabling her to stay informed and complete the application process. Zahra didn't get selected for the teaching position in 2017 after test and interview, but then after waiting for a year, she was directly appointed in 2018 for the EST position at GGMS.

It appears as if government officials had used the merit list from previous years and filled the position, perhaps to save time and avoid going through a new long recruitment process including advertisements, tests and interviews. The actual justification for using the one-year old merit list to recruit a teacher remained unknown as this study didn't include government officials responsible for recruitment and focused primarily on teachers' perceptions and experiences.

Recruitment Issues

As discussed above, there could be several possible explanations for a lack of female government teachers. Firstly, the female teachers reported that, compared to men, female teachers were less aware of government recruitment rules, the structure of the entry test, and the skills need for the selection interviews. As per the latest rules for selection of government elementary school teachers in GB, entry test has the highest weightage in the teacher selection process, with 70% marks for entry test scores, 15% for academic marks and 15% for interview (Government of Gilgit-Baltistan, 2020).

It was evident from the interviews that, generally, male applicants from remote areas were more informed, well prepared for entry tests and well connected with officials than females. A possible explanation could be advantages for men in the society; for example, men could travel to nearby towns more frequently and easily than women.

Secondly, a senior male teacher (Salman) explained that female teachers were unable to compete for government jobs, because all the local female teachers acquired qualifications through distance learning, without going to any universities in a major

city. As a result, female teachers lacked exposure and failed to compete in entry test for teaching positions. Interestingly, Salman, like local female teachers, had acquired higher education degrees through distance learning without going to a university, but still believed that female with a similar educational background were less competent.

Thirdly, government policy suggests teachers from the same sex to be recruited in a single-sex school system. In practice, male teachers were transferred to girls' schools, on the basis of need (possibly to fill teacher shortage) and in the case of GGMS, four male teachers were transferred from other schools to GGMS. In contrast, no female teachers were ever transferred to GBPS.

Literature on Recruitment and Teacher Perceptions

Most of the teachers believed the recruitment of teachers was merit-based and followed government rules. However, some teachers shared that people perceived teacher recruitment, transfers and promotions not always a fair process. Literature on teacher recruitment was critical of corrupt practices, which favored the powerful, while disadvantaged teachers with low socio-economic status and women, among other disadvantaged groups. Durrani et al., (2017) pointed out some of the key issues in teacher recruitment in Pakistan:

> Teacher recruitment in the country was fraught with issues of interference from vested and powerful interests and lack of transparency in decision making, often resulting in recruitment of teachers who did not meet the minimum criteria. Policy and procedures in teacher recruitment have been significantly reformed so that recruitment processes are merit-based and largely transparent. These positive measures will go a long way in reducing

> political interference in teacher appointments. However, the emphasis on merit, seen mainly in terms of teachers' performance in third-party administered tests, raised questions about the extent to which recruitment ensured the inclusion of marginalised groups (e.g. women and religious minorities). The narrow focus on merit and performance in tests would need to be balanced with inclusion of the marginalised groups in the community. (p. 40)

One of the participants shared a similar view stating that "people in society say that teacher recruitment, transfers and promotions are influenced by nepotism, favoritism and power." This statement echoed literature on political and other influences on teacher recruitment in other regions of Pakistan (Durrani et al., 2017; Saeed et al., 2013). Patronage-based recruitment practices are not uncommon in Pakistan, where government teachers become political activists for their patrons (Béteille et al., 2020). In Gilgit-Baltistan, participants in a study conducted in three rural villages reported non-transparent recruitment practices and obscure mechanism of teacher appointment in the government sector (Benz, 2014, p. 223).

In contrast to the literature, all the permanent government teachers in this study believed that their own recruitment was fair and based on merit.

Wide Inequalities and Gender Pay Gap

All participants with temporary contracts identified the issue of teacher pay and working condition as the most critical ones impacting their motivation, job satisfaction and classroom instruction. In this discussion, teachers' pay gap and job type are examined using the findings from an analysis of the cases in this study.

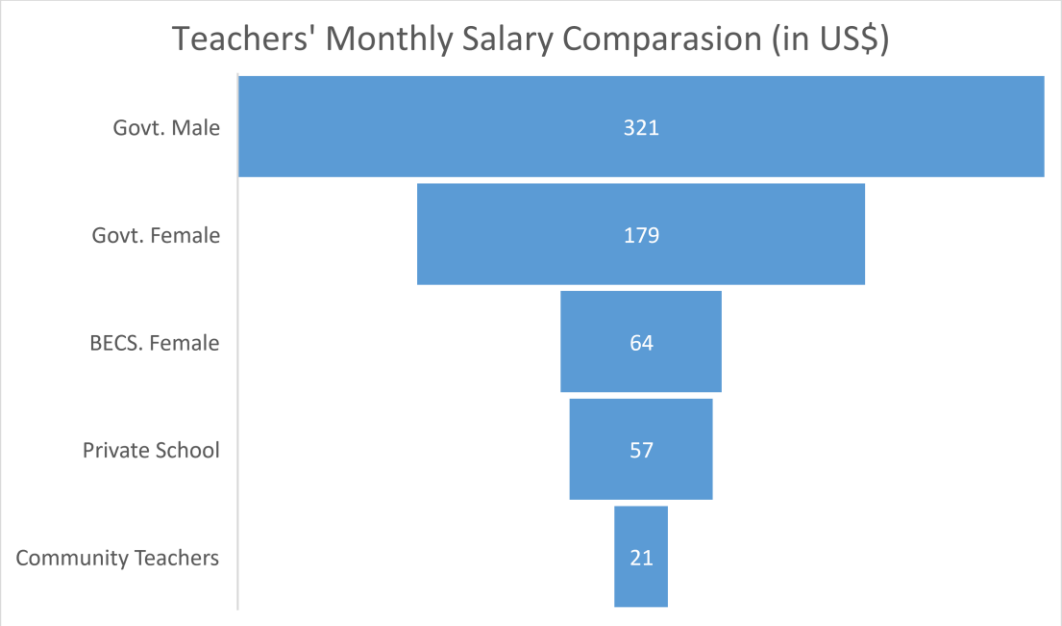
In Pakistan, gender pay gap is high and according to a recent study by the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2018), Pakistan's gender pay gap at 30 percent was more than double the global average. Overall, women in Pakistan are among the lowest paid earners and account for nearly 90 percent of the bottom one percent of wage earners (ILO, 2018).

National trends in gender pay gap were clearly evident among teachers in Northern Pakistan, as confirmed across cases in this study. Teachers in Mountain Village reported wide inequalities among teachers working at different school types as well as within a single school.

Different working conditions – mainly limited to teaching contracts and pay (for the purpose of this discussion) – result in wide disparities among teachers, with female teachers particularly being disadvantaged. In Mountain Village, the teachers with a government permanent contract had the highest salary among all villagers, but at the same time, a community teacher with a temporary contract (or no written contract) was the lowest paid professional in the village, even though workload remained the same. All the low-paid teachers (BECS, substitute and community teachers) were female and met minimum teaching entry requirements. The salary of a community teacher was not only lower than all the other teachers, but their salary was approximately half of, the salary of the lowest ranked government employees with a BPS-1 (mostly uneducated guards and peons) working at the same school. Different contract types of teachers result in stark gaps in teachers' salary as compared in Figure 16.

Figure 16

Comparison of Teachers' Monthly Salary



Note: Author calculations based on the data reported by the participants and may not necessarily match official data; Calculations were based on average monthly salary of participants, using US$ exchange rate of Rs. 140 in March 2019.

Data on teacher pay gap need a careful interpretation. Government pay is equal for both male and female employees, corresponding to teachers' Basic Pay Scale (BPS). The difference in salary of government male and female teachers in Figure 16 could be explained with difference in BPS and the number of years of service. A female government teacher in this study was a newly appointed government employee with only one-year service, while the average service of a male teacher was around 10 years and all the male teachers except one had a higher BPS than the female government teacher.

Higher salaries of the permanent government teachers compared to the private school teachers in Mountain Village are similar to the trend in other regions of Pakistan and South Asia (Béteille et al., 2020). Overall, permanent government teacher's salary in Pakistan was 6.4 times per capita income (World Bank, 2015 cited in Béteille et al., 2020, p. 143). [12]

As shown in Figure 16, average teacher salaries at the PMS were lower than government schools but still higher than those for community teachers. Some community teachers or volunteer teacher were hired by all four schools on the basis of need, at some point in the past. A community teacher working at a government school had a very low salary of Rs. 3,000 (US$21) with no additional benefits and was the lowest of all categories. Cross-case analysis uncovered extreme gaps in teacher pay in Mountain Village. One of the community teachers (Ms. Fatima) reported a salary which was 17 times less than the average salary for a government male teacher and nearly 10 times less than a government female teacher with the same workload at the same school. Similarly, Sarah with 25-year experience was another teacher at BECS with a monthly salary of Rs. 9,000 (US$ 65), which was one third of a newly appointed female government teacher (a former student of Sarah). Sarah began her teaching career 25-years ago with two male teachers at the community school (BECS), who later joined government teaching service and now earn a salary six times higher than Sarah's salary. Even that low salary was not paid to Sarah for the previous one year and Sarah was worried, because she was

[12] Pakistan's per capita income (Current US$) was 1,251 in 2014, as per World Bank. Without data on teacher scale and salary, it's no possible to verify the calculated by the World Bank.

responsible for taking care of her seven children. Sarah's real-life story uncovers the difficult working conditions and problems faced by female teachers in remote villages. Without addressing these basic issues of pay and working conditions, a donor-funded inservice training designed in a city could hardly be relevant or succeed in motivating teachers in remote areas.

Findings of this study of wide inequalities, based on gender and teaching contracts, confirm the trends at the national level (Andrabi et al., 2006; ILO, 2018). Results from the studies conducted by Andrabi et al. (2006) showed that rural private schools in Pakistan hire predominantly local, female, and moderately educated teachers, who have limited opportunities outside the village and the teachers are hired for low salaries. Findings from the cases of female teachers with BECS and temporary contracts are in line with that of the existing literature, although some of the less-well paid female teachers actually have fairly extensive education and qualifications. This study's findings further add to the literature that the trend of hiring low paid female teachers is not only practiced in private schools, but also in rural government schools, apparently as an informal practice outside the government official system.

Another important group of teachers in Mountain Village are the BECS teachers. BECS was managed and owned by the SMC, but the Federal Government's National Education Foundation (NEF) paid a monthly salary of Rs.9,000 (US$ 64) to all the five female teachers. BECS teachers reported that their salary was outstanding for one year and the teachers had been demanding timely payment of salaries, pay raise and permanent job contracts. Sarah's case was a perfect example of how the

State failed to sustain community schools established with support from the World Bank. Teachers were left with no option other than strikes and mass protests.

BECS Teacher Strikes for Pay and Job Security

Sarah, along with other BECS teachers, were waiting for the outstanding salary for nearly one year. The wide disparity in pay and working conditions is reproducing social/gender stratifications and expanding income disparities in a relatively egalitarian local community. Insecure jobs and low pay can exacerbate existing gender inequalities, especially in a traditional society with strong cultural norms privileging men.

BECS teachers, including Sarah and Sahar, had joined at least two strikes and protest actions demanding a pay raise, timely payment of salaries and regularization of jobs, but their demands remain unaddressed for the last two decades (Mir, 2011, November 30). BECS continue to provide free education for students, mostly girls, but teachers' job insecurity and low pay, among other issues, made these school the lowest quality schools in many villages. The government's indifference towards BECS teachers had fueled teacher strikes resulting in closure of schools for 55 days in one of the longest teacher protests in Gilgit. BECS teachers in GB and teacher associations and teacher unions in other parts of Pakistan have protested against delays in salary payment and demanded permanent contracts (Teacher Solidarity, 2014, January 31; DAWN, 2014, December 17).

Teacher Deployment and Transfer

In order to understand how a teacher entered into teaching at their current as well as previous schools, teacher deployment and transfer are briefly analyzed based on the findings of individual cases in this study.

Teacher transfers remains a political issue in Pakistan. Although, there is a lack of research on teacher transfer in GB, researchers (Saeed et al., 2013) in other provinces of Pakistan found that "often teachers who do not listen to the dictat[e]s of the political actors are severely punished in social or financial terms and sometimes transferred to remote areas" (p. 170). A study conducted in the KP province of Pakistan found that teacher transfers were influenced by multiple factors, such as political interference and teachers requesting their transfers to cities (Komatsu, 2008).

Teacher transfers could be frequent and challenging in remote schools, as suggested by the findings from Hassan's case at GBPS and Mustafa's cases at GGMS. Teacher transfer experiences vary from individual to individual and are hard to generalize. For instance, two out of three teachers at GBPS were never posted out of their village, while a third teacher (Hassan) had been transferred seven times during his 12-year service (see Figure 11 in Chapter 6). In Hassan's understanding, the reasons for his transfers were other than political or punishment for non-obedience. In fact, the reasons appear to be the opposite. For instance, in Hassan's case, he believed that he was transferred due to his positive attitude and willingness to work in any assigned remote schools. In two instances of his transfers, Hassan strongly believed that he was transferred because the education officer was his relative and he had more trust in Hassan. The findings from Hassan's example are in

contrast with the literature (Komatsu, 2008; Saeed et al., 2013) from other regions of Pakistan.

It was also reported by the participants that no female teacher has ever been transferred outside her village. Hassan, with a career history of seven transfers, believed that male teachers were disadvantaged compared to females, as he believed that female teachers never get transferred outside their home location.

Theme 2: Perceptions of Teachers: Teacher Education and Influence

Theme 2 from the cross-case analysis focuses on the impact of teacher education and attempts to answer my research question 2.

Teacher Education in Northern Pakistan

According to the policy in the province of GB, all aspiring teachers must have a teaching professional certification to be eligible for government regular teaching positions, while there are no minimum qualifications required for private school teachers. Nearly 300 public and private institutions offer multiple preservice teacher education programs in Pakistan (USAID & UNESCO, 2009). Although there are multiple providers of preservice teacher education in two cities (Gilgit and Skardu) of GB, there are very few or no providers in rural districts of GB. There was no college of education in the district in which Mountain Village is located. Hence, most of the teachers had to explore distance learning opportunities, while living in the remote village. Findings from analysis of teachers' perceptions and experiences of teacher education programs and influences are discussed in the following sections.

Teacher Education Programs Rural Teachers Participated in (Research Question 2.1)

Most of the teachers in this study had never had the experience of being a full-time regular student in a university. Four out of twelve teachers had been to a university in cities of Pakistan, but all four were male teachers. Nearly all the teachers had acquired at least one degree or professional teaching certificate through distance learning from Allama Iqbal Open University (AIOU). Only one teacher (Sajid) received a scholarship with study leave and completed an M.Ed. degree from a renowned university in Pakistan, while all other teachers pursued teacher education through AIOU (distance learning) or KIU (as private candidates). The distance learning mode of education appears critical for teachers in rural areas, especially far flung areas with poor communication infrastructure. AIOU's distance learning education has successfully reached nearly all rural as well as urban areas of Pakistan. The primary means of dissemination of materials and communication is by mail. Teachers' academic and professional qualifications are listed in Table 17.

Table 17

Teachers' Academic and Professional Qualifications

Sr. #	Pseudonym	Gender	School	Contract Type	Academic Qualification	Professional Qualification
1	Ali	Male	Govt Boys Primary School (GBPS)	Permanent/ government	MA	B.Ed.
2	Hassan	Male	GBPS	Permanent/ government	MA	B.Ed.
3	Raza	Male	GBPS	Permanent/ government	MA	B.Ed.
4	Fatima	Female	Government Girls Middle School (GGMS)	Temporary/ Community Teacher	BA	CT
5	Suraya	Female	GGMS	Temporary/ Substitute Teacher	BA	CT
6	Zahra	Female	GGMS	Permanent/ government	BA	B.Ed.
7	Mustafa	Male	GGMS	Permanent/ government	BA	M.Ed.
8	Sajid	Male	GGMS	Permanent/ government	M.Sc.	M.Ed.
9	Sarah	Female	Basic Education Community School (BECS)	Temporary/BECS	FA	CT
10	Sahar	Female	BECS	Temporary/BECS	MA	B.Ed.
11	Hussain	Male	Private Middle School (PMS)	Temporary/Private	BA	B.Ed.
12	Salman	Male	PMS	Temporary/Private	MA	B.Ed.

Note. Data from Participants' Interviews, March 2019.

Overall, the number of qualified teachers was more than the teaching positions available in schools at Mountain Village, indicating that the supply of teachers was not an issue even in rural areas.

Inservice Training

Inservice training in Pakistan is mostly donor-driven and ad-hoc and training opportunities are unevenly distributed (Durrani et al., 2017). In the case of Gilgit-Baltistan, the USAID-funded Pakistan Reading Project (PRP) was under implementation in government schools during my field work. In addition, Aga Khan University's Professional Development Centre North (PDCN) had been offering short-term professional development courses for both public and private school teachers.

Inservice training experiences of teachers in this study varied. Most of the teachers at BECS and Private Middle School didn't receive any training opportunities. Teachers at the government schools availed few training opportunities but most of the teachers believed that their isolated location resulted in less opportunities compared to the teachers in urban schools. Four government teachers – two from GBPS and two from GGMS (one male and one female) – participated in the USAID-funded PRP training on early grading reading skills. At GGMS, the PRP trained female teacher (Zahra) was teaching Grade 1-2 Urdu, and she reported that she was implementing the training successfully and found it very useful. The male trained teacher was teaching other subjects at higher grades; hence, early grade reading training didn't directly benefit early grade children in this case.

Teachers have the right to participate in inservice training and avail study leave with full or partial pay (ILO/UNESCO, 1966). According to ILO/UNESCO (1966), "Teachers should be provided time necessary for taking part in inservice training programmes … [and] Teachers in areas which are remote from population

centres and are recognized as such by the public authorities should be given study leave more frequently" (p. 37). However, most of the teachers in the remote Mountain Village were not provided sufficient and relevant inservice training, while only one teacher availed a study leave.

Most Influential Learning Experiences (Research Question 2.2)

Apprenticeship of Observation. As an initial phase of teacher learning continuum, I explored teacher perceptions about the influence of their own school teachers (Lortie, 1975). Most of the participants remembered their own school teachers and gained interest in teaching due to influences from their own teachers. Some teachers believed that their teaching beliefs and teaching practices were influenced by their own school teachers, while some teachers did not perceive any positive influence of their own teachers and instead strongly believed that they developed their own teaching style with experience. The findings were mixed for the influence of participants' own school teachers.

Induction. None of the participants reported that they received formal induction or orientations when they joined a new school or teaching position. Most of the teachers stated that they had to walk straight to the classroom on their first day of joining a teaching job, without any orientation. However, some participants appreciated support and help from more experienced teachers. In some cases, male teachers (Hassan, Sajid and Mustafa) began their teaching careers in remote schools away from home, and they had to live in a room with non-local teachers, establishing informal learning and support structures. On a positive side, teachers acknowledged support from remote community members during the teachers' early careers, when

locals provided free vegetables and fruits, among other support to non-local teachers. No teacher reported induction – formal or informal – as an influential experience.

Preservice Education. One of the findings from this study is that boundaries between preservice and inservice teacher education are not clear, as most of the teachers pursued preservice degree programs while working as full-time teachers. For the purpose of this study, I analyzed degree programs as preservice (even when teachers were already practicing teaching), while I focused on short-term training programs as inservice training for practicing teachers.

The influences of preservice education were minimum for most of the participants. One exception was Sajid, who viewed his preservice experience of M.Ed. at a renowned university as one of the most influential learning experiences helping to shape his beliefs and practices as a teacher. All other teachers had never gone to a university campus for preservice teacher education degrees.

An important finding was that most of the participant did not mention the influence of practicum during the discussion about their preservice teacher education experiences. Some of them did clarify that since they were already teaching in schools, a practicum was not required.

Inservice Training. Some of the teachers strongly believed that some targeted, field-based inservice trainings were the most powerful learning experiences, helping them in developing or refining their professional practice. For example, Mustafa and Sarah thought a field-based teacher development program (FBTDP) was one of the most influential trainings for their teaching practice. Likewise, Ali, Hassan and Zahra suggested the USAID-funded PRP training was the most influential

learning experience for their teaching beliefs and practice. They reported that the PRP training was effective because of its follow-up at school level, cluster meetings of the teacher inquiry groups (TIGs) and free materials for teachers and students, among other components. Another teacher mentioned that a short-term training on teaching methodology at PDCN had a component of field visit to schools, which made the training a more useful learning experience for them. However, teachers at GBPS were of the view that a multigrade teaching context makes it challenging to implement the trainings' ideas and practices in their school, where only three teachers manage seven classes.

While each individual case perceived influence of learning experiences differently, overall teachers' perceptions on impact and influence of preservice and inservice training presented mixed findings.

Implications

This section discusses implications of the findings of this study for the theory and policy.

Implications for Theory

The assumption of linearity, or that individuals do not teach before entering a preservice teacher education is questionable. Different stages of teachers' learning experiences may not be in a linear sequence. Findings reveal that nearly all the participants acquired at least one preservice training education certificate while working as a teacher. Three female participants reported that they started teaching voluntarily, while going to school at Grade 8-10 level.

Moreover, this study supports the argument that there is no single best method of teacher education to improve teaching practice (Schleicher, 2012). The findings from the twelve cases in this study presented real life experiences of teachers in a remote context and contributes to the debates on teacher policy and teacher education programs. The findings are connected with the conceptual framework in the next section.

Revisiting Continuum of Teacher Learning

As discussed in chapter 2, I used the continuum of teacher learning as a conceptual framework, and conceptualized teacher learning as continuous and long-term process, involving both formal and informal ways of learning and socialization (Lortie, 1975; OECD, 2005; Schwille & Dembele, 2007).

The findings from the individual case analysis and cross-case analysis suggest that an in-depth analysis of teacher learning perceptions and experiences was possible by using the four phases of the continuum: 1) the apprenticeship of observation; 2) formal preservice teacher education; 3) induction; and 4) inservice training.

Nevertheless, I found during the interviews that participants were able to share more detailed descriptions about their more formal phases of learning, i.e. preservice teacher education and inservice training. Most of the participants shared mixed experiences about the apprenticeship of observation, as their early socialization and observation of their own school teachers were complex, with some teachers experiencing positive while others experiencing negative experiences with their teachers. Likewise, all teachers clearly stated that they didn't experience any formal induction training upon their entry into teaching. However, some participants

believed informal orientations and school culture influenced their early teaching beliefs and practice. Informal learning experiences, as found in this study, are more important especially in the areas where teachers are isolated and limited in their access to formal trainings.

The four phases of the learning continuum, as found in this study, may not necessarily be in a linear sequence. This was particularly true for the phase of preservice teacher education which precedes induction and inservice training, but this study found that most of the teachers pursued preservice teacher education degrees and certificates after entering the teaching profession and working in remote schools. Hence, the boundaries between preservice and inservice became blurred and I considered practicing teachers' experiences of any professional certifications and degree programs as preservice.

Occupational Choice Theory

This dissertation explored teachers' pathways into teaching by examining two interconnected areas of teacher preparation and recruitment. Teacher preparation was examined using the continuum of teacher learning as a conceptual framework, as discussed above. Secondly, my examination of teacher recruitment was informed by occupational choice theory. I attempted to gain insights into teachers' beliefs and experiences of how they made career choices to decide to enter the teaching occupation. Findings of this study reinforce the assumptions of the occupational choice theory by teachers' considering multiple factors, such as economic and social factors, in their decision making. With regard to economic factors, teacher salary was a primary factor influencing teachers' career choices, nevertheless some teachers

agreed at various points in their career to teach on a volunteer basis. Some of the social factors influencing teachers' career choices were respect for teachers, acceptance for women to work at schools and religious beliefs that teaching was a holy profession.

The application of the occupational choice theory in rural villages where prospective teachers especially women have very limited choices become questionable. Some case studies revealed that low-paid female teachers may not have really had choices to make, due to limited or no alternative choices. The findings echo the literature on social and economic factors influencing people to become teachers (Watt et al., 2012; Ginzberg, 1988; Khan, 2017).

Lastly, since the primary source of data were interviews of teachers, I interpreted the reality and views constructed by teachers. Constructivism as a social theory guided my research and I believe there could be multiple realities and I tried to capture the realities constructed by the teachers, through my interpretive lens.

More importantly, the real-life stories of the teachers indicate that the teachers' lives outside the classroom in the context of Mountain Village have had an impact on teachers' perceptions, learning and practice.

Implications for Policy

The findings from the individual cases and the cross-case analysis in this study extend the literature on the field of teacher preparation and recruitment. Keeping in view my dissertation and particularly the findings, I offer implications for policy with a focus on teachers living and working in rural context.

First, reforming teacher policy and teacher education programs needs a comprehensive diagnosis and long-term planning. In chapter 3, I discussed a teacher education system and different types of preservice and inservice training model. I argued that there were no uniform and standard policies and practices for teacher education as there are a lot of variations across and within different contexts. The findings of this research reinforce the argument to keep context in mind before initiating reforms.

Second, the preservice teacher education reforms introduced in 2009 have not reached Mountain Village, with no teachers pursuing the newly introduced ADE and B.Ed. (Hons.) programs. Traditional preservice teacher education programs (one-year CT. and B.Ed.) through AIOU's distance learning remain the most popular programs among the teachers, hence future preservice education reforms need to focus on distance learning programs as alternative pathways into teaching. In addition, rural teachers' access to university-based preservice teacher education programs could be increased through scholarships and study leave, especially for female teachers.

Third, based on findings from this study, it would be important for both government and donors to increase funding and offer more frequent as well as targeted inservice training. There is a need for highlighting models and practices that have proven effective for teachers isolated in remote villages, where travelling outside the village remains a challenge especially for female teachers. This may include school-based inservice training, communities of practice, mentoring, promoting peer learning, or a mix of models, among others.

Fourth, an important implication can be drawn based on Sarah's and Sahar's cases. Both teachers were among hundreds of BECS teachers whose salary was low and not paid for a year. BECS teachers had been demanding job security, pay raise and timely payment of salaries through protests. The Basic Education Community School (BECS) model was once celebrated by the World Bank in late 1990s as successful model to promote girls' education. However, both government and donors failed to sustain the initiative, and now BECS schools, according to teachers' perception, are lowest quality schools. The government needs to urgently address the demands of BECS teachers and strictly enforce timely payment of wages, and seriously consider increasing their pay – for BECS teacher all over GB and Pakistan.

Fifth, this study found that only one local female teacher was recruited as a permanent government teacher, compared to seven male permanent government teachers at the two government schools. The total number of male and female teachers in the village were nearly equal but government teaching jobs were male dominated, while all the community and BECS teachers were female with extremely low pay, as already discussed in detail under theme 1 in this chapter. Bringing female teachers at par with male teachers is critical and not impossible if recruitment policies are revisited. The government recruitment policy may be revised to allow female teachers to be recruited in government boys' primary schools or enforce the restriction on teacher employment in government girls' schools to females. This single policy change would not be enough, without developing clear mechanisms to ensure transparent and fair recruitment process. The government should continue recruiting female teachers until their number is at least equal, if not greater, than male

teachers in government permanent jobs in rural Pakistan. This will promote women's, empowerment especially in traditional societies like Mountain Village, where women are restricted to travel outside their village, limiting women's employment opportunities to their own village schools.

Sixth, an analysis of teacher qualifications in this study revealed that not a single teacher had pursued the new teacher education programs ADE and B.Ed.(Hons.) introduced a decade previously as part of the USAID-funded reforms. Instead, even Mountain Village teachers, who entered the profession after the 2009 reforms were announced, continued to pursue the traditional teacher education programs (e.g. CT. and one-year B.Ed.) through distance learning. These findings suggest that reforms are taking a much longer time than intended to reach schools and teachers, at least in remote areas. The government should evaluate the effectiveness of these reforms and support those programs which could be meaningful and relevant to the rural context of teachers.

Lastly, an important implication can be drawn, based on findings from this study showing an acute shortage of basic resources in rural schools. The study found that a government primary school (GBPS) had a non-salary annual budget of only Rs. 18,500 ($132), which was around one percent of the annual budget of GBPS budget and insufficient for instructional materials and other needs. The government's total budget for GBPS translates to US$139 per child annually. A transformation of education system and success of policy reforms depend on governments' increased investment in education and especially on under-resourced rural schools in Mountain Village and elsewhere.

Conclusions

In this concluding section, I present contributions of this dissertation to the existing body of literature on teacher preparation and recruitment. Then, I identify some of the limitations of this study and finally propose areas for future research.

Contributions of the Dissertation

This qualitative, multiple case study expands the scope of existing research on teachers' pathways into teaching by adding rural teachers' in-depth perceptions and real-life experiences. The study contributes to the body of literature in following ways: the study adds a nuanced understanding of rural teachers' perceptions and real-life experience of recruitment into teaching careers in different types of schools. The findings of this study problematize government recruitment policies and practices. Government policy documents and recruitment rules show entry into teaching profession as a linear simplistic process. However, this study found new insights and revealed that the real-life experiences of teachers varied and were more complex, with multiple factors influencing teachers' entry into teaching.

This study supplements the literature on challengers and barriers faced by male and female teachers in rural areas. As such, there is a growing body of literature studying barriers for female teachers. The findings from this study not only contribute to the literature on barriers for female teachers but equally interestingly barriers for male teachers in a traditional and patriarchal society. Raza's case questions the simplistic assumption that male teachers have freedom to travel outside the village with no barriers. An analysis of Raza's case revealed cultural barriers for men, as he stated that, being the only male member of household, he could not travel outside

village and stay overnight because he could not leave female family members (mother, wife and three daughters) at home. Similarly, the transfer of male teachers (e.g. Hassan) to remote schools leave their families unattended, creating extra workload and problems for the teacher's wife and children. Issues facing transferred and deployed teachers in rural areas need further exploration.

Also, the findings from the analysis of data from Mountain Village – with fewer female teachers and fewer girls enrolled at PMS – counter the general trend in Pakistan, where private schools have a high percentage of girls' enrollment and a majority of the teachers are females (Andrabi et al., 2002).

More importantly, this study brought teachers' voices into foreground, and the interpretation of teachers' perceptions and experiences generated new in-depth insights, contributing to the body of literature on teachers' pathway into teaching. In the context of Mountain Village, this study was a rare study in documenting the voices of teachers, including female teachers who would not usually give interviews to outsiders due to the local customs. This study was the first research study in their schools and first interviews ever for female teachers, according to the participants.

My sincere hope is that this qualitative research will make a significant addition to our existing knowledge of two interconnected fields of teacher preparation and teacher recruitment in an under-researched area of Pakistan. Moreover, my research will be useful for government, donors and civil society organizations working on teacher policy, preparation and recruitments in Pakistan and other developing countries.

Limitations

A limitation of qualitative case studies is generalizability, and the findings from my qualitative multiple case studies may not be generalizable, due to context specific findings.

In addition, a sample size of twelve teachers, including 5 female teachers, may be representative at the village level but may not represent the region or all rural areas of Pakistan; therefore, the findings should be carefully interpreted.

Access to the research site was not easy. When I arrived in Pakistan, the government had closed Pakistan's airspace as tensions between Pakistan and India escalated. I had to wait for one week for the reopening of airspace for domestic flights and then had to spend another 2 days on the road traveling to Mountain Village. This unexpected delay in reaching research site limited the time I intended to spend with teachers and might have reduced the richness of the data, though I still managed to spend two weeks in the research site and succeeded in completing all interviews, except one.

All interviews were conducted in the local language Shina – a language with rich oral tradition but still not a standard orthography – and I translated and transcribed at the same time. Although, I am a native Shina speaker, my translation from Shina language into English might not have captured some responses accurately. I tried to reduce such inaccuracies by listening to the interview audiotapes at least twice and revising translated transcriptions accordingly.

The findings are primarily based on teachers' perceptions and school information collected from teachers and may not necessarily be the same as the official statements.

Future Research

I suggest four areas for future research, based on the findings, implications and limitations of this study. These areas are proposed with intention to widen the scope of this study as well as to further contribute to the literature in the broader field of teacher preparation and recruitment.

First, this study was primarily based on the perceptions and real-life experiences related to teacher preparation and recruitment of a small group of teachers in one rural, mountain village. It would be useful to examine perceptions and experiences of other teachers as well as those of teacher policy makers and senior officials responsible for recruitment of teachers to better understand the institutional perspectives on teacher preparation and recruitment.

Second, a growing body of literature is studying challenges and barriers for male and female teachers in rural areas. This study highlighted the key issues of teachers' working condition with a focus on pay gap. In-dept qualitative studies are needed to examine working conditions of male and female teachers living in remote areas.

Third, this study explored some of the challenges and issues (e.g. pay gap) faced by the teachers of Basic Education Community Schools (BECS). Gilgit-Baltistan has the highest proportion of BECS in Pakistan (29% of total schools) and hundreds of BECS teachers had been protesting demanding pay raise and job

security. There is a lack of research on BECS teachers and their participation in protests. A future research on BECS teacher union movement and the role of female teachers in teacher strikes could be an interesting study to fill the research gap.

Lastly, this study found that the proportion of female government permanent teachers was only 22% in Mountain Village and 39% in the province of GB. Further exploratory studies could focus on this critical issue to understand the complexity and interconnectedness of multiple factors restricting women's recruitment in government services at remote villages. In my research, I identified some of the barrier for female teachers, but more in-depth research is needed to further unravel barriers for female teachers and explore how to remove those barriers for recruiting and retaining more female teachers in government schools.

Appendices

Appendix A: Semi-structured Interview Protocol

Guiding Research Question 1

What are the different pathways into teaching in different types of rural schools (public, private and community schools) for female and male teachers?

Teacher profile and career history

1. General information questions. You may choose not to respond to any question: Name, age, pay scale/salary level, gender, ethnicity, school type, home distance from school (if non-local teacher), length of service/teacher experience, academic qualifications, and professional qualifications obtained.
2. Tell me how you become a teacher? Was teaching the profession of your choice? Who influenced you? and what things make you to choose teaching as a career (or having no choice but to get into teaching)?
3. How were you recruited? What policies were there, and what conditions existed for you to enter into the teaching profession?
4. How did you end up teaching in this school? How are teachers deployed and what was your experience?

What to teach and how to teach?

1. Who are your students? Multicultural (which languages they speak and how that influences your classroom)? Socio-economic status? Gender? Who are their parents (what is their level of education; what kind of economic activity, if any, are they engaged in; how would you describe their socioeconomic level?)
2. What are the teaching conditions in your school?

3. Do you have a prescribed curriculum? What are the requirements for teaching it? Which teaching methods do you use most of the time in your teaching?
4. Are there teachers who influence you the most? Courses, activities and theories that influence you?

Guiding Research Question 2

How do female and male rural primary teachers perceive the relevance and impact of their apprenticeship, preservice and inservice teacher education for their classroom practices?

Relevance and impact of teacher training experiences

1. What types of professional development/teacher education programs and activities have you participated in during your **preservice** teaching education, induction, and while you are teaching in school?
2. How many and what types of these programs were focused on the content/subject/content methods? Does that relate to the content/subject you teach in school now?
3. Why did you choose to participate in those programs? Reasons?
4. How do you manage classroom or discipline students? How do you develop teaching and learning materials? How do you assess student learning?

Now let's talk about specific phases in your learning experiences:

5. What was your first learning experience in the journey of becoming a teacher? Choose from: apprentice of observation/your schooling experiences; induction; preservice; inservice.

6. In what ways did the **observation of apprenticeship/your own schooling experience** influence: your beliefs and practices in teaching; how you teach (curriculum decisions, lesson planning, instructional strategies, classroom management, student assessment)? When and where did you get exposed to those experiences/ideas?
7. When you first got employed as a teacher, what **orientation/induction** or other guidance did you receive? Describe duration, curriculum, instructors, practicum etc.? What was the focus of this learning or unlearning experience (subject matter, teaching methods, classroom management, student assessment)?
8. In what ways have your induction (both formal and informal) experiences influenced your teaching? Give examples of what you believe or practice due to those experiences?
9. What major challenges do you find in your classroom teaching that preservice training has or has not prepared you? Gaps in knowledge? Pedagogies? Or resources?
10. In what ways have your **preservice training experiences** influenced your teaching? Give examples of changes in your understanding, beliefs, attitudes and skills? (knowledge and skills? Practicum? most memorable experiences? culturally relevant preparation?)
11. Which **inservice training programs** have you participated in? Describe duration, curriculum, instructors, practicum, relevance etc.? What were the benefits or problems?

12. What are the professional development opportunities and barriers for you in this school, village and elsewhere?
13. What other kinds of professional development opportunities would you like to participate in (in what forms, focusing on what topics)?
14. If you were doing professional development, what would you do and why? What would you do differently? Top three topics/areas of focus, you would like to include in professional development?

Other Questions

1. In what ways have your education/training experiences influenced your understanding, attitudes and teaching practice on holistic education? (Environmental ethics, disaster preparedness, sustainable development, peacebuilding etc.)? Was this part of your preparation?
2. When you teach the students, do you pay attention to their differences? Their needs to be a whole person? When students have stress and anxiety, how do you deal with them? Do you teach about caring for others? Do you teach them to care for environment/animals? Are you trained to do this, or it is your initiative?
3. What about active learning pedagogies, human rights, culturally sensitive and gender sensitive education etc. How do you incorporate these concepts into your teaching?
4. Do you feel as a woman/man you have particular advantages or challenges as a teacher? How does living in a rural traditional village affect your teaching career (training and practice?)

Do you have any questions from me regarding this interview and topics we discussed?

Thank you very much for participating in this interview. If needed, I will reach out to you once again for further discussion or clarifications.

Appendix B: Government Teacher Recruitment Policy

Source: Government of Gilgit-Baltistan (2011)

Government of Gilgit-Baltistan
Gilgit Baltistan Secretariat
(Secretary Education, Women Dev. & SWO GB)
******

NO. Sec.Edu-5(4)/2011 Gilgit dated September, 2012.

From: Section Officer (**Education**)
GB. Secretariat, Gilgit.

To:
1. The Director Education (Planning), Gilgit-Baltistan.
2. The Director Education (Academics), Gilgit.
3. The Director Education Baltistan, Skardu.

Sub: **Recruitment Policy.**

I am directed to refer to this office letter of even No. dated 04/11/2011 and attached office note initiated by the Director Education (Planning) on the subject cited above and to say that Secretary Education Gilgit-Baltistan has been pleased to approve the proposal as under:-

a) The qualification of CT appearing at sub Para-II Academic qualification at P/3 of recruitment policy may be slashed with Diploma in Education and ADE. This addition may be circulated to all concerned for compliance in future.

b) The qualification of B.Ed Honors' (04 Years) may also be mentioned as prescribed qualification for recruitment in BS-16 and above in the recruitment rules of officers in BS 16 and above of the Education Department, Gilgit-Baltistan.

(Muhammad Alam)
Section Officer, Education
Ph: 05811-960288

Copy also forwarded to Professor Meher Dad consultant Pre-Step, Islamabad.

(Muhammad Alam)
Section Officer, Education
Ph: 05811-960288

Appendix C: ADE and B.Ed. (Hons.) Program

Source: USAID PRP (2020).

The two-year Associate Degree in Education (ADE) and four-year Bachelor's of Education (B.Ed. [Hons.]) encourage a change in approaches to teaching and learning. Moving away from an over-reliance on teacher-centered lectures, the new degrees promote student-centered learning in classrooms. Teachers learn how to foster learner-centered active learning and other teaching techniques that make learning more interactive and meaningful. Student teachers in the new degree programs will acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions they need to help children be successful learners.

The degrees follow a curriculum, specially designed by leading national and international experts. Approved and endorsed by the Higher Education Commission (HEC), these degree programs are also based on Pakistan's 10 National Professional Standards for Teachers. Phasing out the old degrees, like the PTC and CT, the ADE & B.Ed (Hons.) will become the entry level benchmark for teachers by 2018.

This change also involves a change in the way prospective teachers are assessed. In the new degrees, work completed during a course counts towards a final grade at the end of a semester. The new degrees are designed to help prospective teachers achieve the highest quality of teaching as described by the National Professional Standards. These programs are structured around the notion that a teacher in the classroom needs to be competent in the content areas as well as in teaching strategies in order to ensure expected student learning outcomes.

The Associate Degree in Education (ADE) is a transitional two-year program, which has been aligned with and leads to the B.Ed. (Hons.) program. Twelve-year schooling is the basic criteria for enrollment in the new program/course. The new scheme of studies lays excessive emphasis on practice teaching in which 15 credit hours of these degree programs are exclusively included to promote practicum and practical work in the new program. Therefore, a blend of content and pedagogical courses has been included in the new scheme of studies. Student teachers are provided opportunities to practice teaching through interaction with primary schools, the community and professional training, all of which blend pedagogical learning with extensive supervised teaching practice. This teaching experience enables prospective teachers to bring about a positive attitude in the classroom and in understanding the diversity of cultures. In the first two years of the ADE program, prospective teachers spend time in schools equivalent to two full courses in addition to visiting schools throughout the semesters with specific school-based tasks. The total number of credits for practicum during the

four-year program is 15, which is about 11% of the total program credits. Planning and carrying out research activities, engaging in courses like critical thinking and reflective practices, studying contemporary issues and trends in education and involvement of prospective teachers in practical/field work greatly reduce isolation of teachers and help develop the habit of inquiry.

Based on latest research on early childhood education, the specially designed curriculum includes courses on a broad range of important topics, like child development, educational psychology, classroom management and teaching methods, among many others, to ensure that tomorrow's teachers are not only able to inform, but also instruct and inspire their students. This well-rounded curriculum puts these degrees at par with international standards and aims to create a new cadre of teachers to transform the teaching process in elementary schools across Pakistan.

Join them to become a teacher and make a difference for the future of Pakistan!

Year/ Semester wise Scheme of Studies of B.Ed. (Hons.)

1st YEAR

SEMESTER – I

Sr.#	Courses	Cr.Hr.
1	Functional English-I	3
2	Islamic Studies/Ethics	2
3	Child Development	3
4	Urdu Language	3
5	General Science	3
6	General Methods of Teaching	3
	Total Credit Hours	17

SEMESTER – II

Sr.#	Courses	Cr.Hr.
1	English-II	3
2	Computer Literacy	3
3	Classroom Management	3
4	General Mathematics	3
5	Pakistan Studies	2
6	Methods of Teaching Islamic Studies	3
	Total Credit Hours	17

2nd YEAR

SEMESTER – III

Sr.#	Courses	Cr.Hr.
1	Teaching Literacy Skills	3
2	Art, Crafts and Calligraphy	3
3	Teaching of Urdu	3
4	Teaching of Science	3
5	ICT in Education	2
6	Teaching Practice	3
	Total Credit Hours	17

SEMESTER – IV

Sr.#	Courses	Cr.Hr.
1	Classroom Assessment	3
2	Teaching of English	3
3	Teaching of Mathematics	3
4	School, Community and Teacher	2+1
5	Teaching of Social Studies	2
6	Teaching practice	3
	Total Credit Hours	17

3rd YEAR

SEMESTER – V

Sr.#	Courses	Cr.Hr.
1	English-III	3
2	Foundations of Education	3
3	Content Course – I	3
4	Content Course – I	3
5	Curriculum Development	3
6	Educational Psychology	3
	Total Credit Hours	18

SEMESTER – VI

Sr.#	Courses	Cr.Hr.
1	Contemporary Issues and Trends in Education	3
2	Content Course – II	3
3	Content Course – II	3
4	Comparative Education	3
5	Introduction to Guidance and Counseling	3
	Total Credit Hours	15

4th YEAR

SEMESTER – VII

Sr.#	Courses	Cr.Hr.
1	Content Course – III	3
2	Content Course – III	3
3	Pedagogy – I	3
4	Pedagogy – II	3
5	Research Methods in Education	3
6	Teaching Practice	3
	Total Credit Hours	18

SEMESTER – VIII

Sr.#	Courses	Cr.Hr.
1	School Management	3
2	Test Development and Evaluation	3
3	Teaching Practice	6
4	Research project	3
	Total Credit Hours	15
	Grand Total Credit Hours	**134**

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